THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

By Ina Corinne Brown

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THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

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THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

BY INA CORINNE BROWN

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INA CORINNE BROWN was born in Texas and went to school and college there. After completing her work at the Southern Methodist University in Dallas in 1921 she went to Nashville and for thirteen years served as the secretary for the missionary education of young people in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. An important part of the program in her department had to do with race relations and she traveled widely through the South teaching and speaking in colleges, summer camps and conferences for both white and Negro groups. At the same time she was active in a number of national educational bodies that brought her into touch with groups of young people and religious leaders in other parts of the country. For four years Miss Brown was a trustee of Paine College for Negroes in Augusta, Georgia. In 1929-30 she traveled in Europe, Africa and Asia studying problems of race contact. At this time Miss Brown and a woman companion crossed Central Africa alone from the mouth of the Congo on the west coast to Mombassa on the east—a journey that very few, if any other, white women had at that time accomplished.

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TO

THE STUDENTS, FACULTY, AND TRUSTEES

OF PAINE COLLEGE

AND THE STAFF OF BETHLEHEM CENTER

WHO TOGETHER IN AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

HAVE CREATED

A LABORATORY IN INTERRACIAL UNDERSTANDING

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Foreword

IN America we are accustomed to think of the Negro primarily in terms of a race problem. As one Negro writer has expressed it, he is more a formula than a human being—a something to be argued about, condemned or defended, kept down or helped up, to be worried with or worried over, harassed or patronized, a bogey or a burden. This feeling has made it difficult for white Americans to regard Negroes as persons and even the colored man's attitude toward himself has been affected by the prevailing notion.

This book is not another study of the race problem as such. It is rather a simple, chronological story of the Negro as the chief figure in one of the most dramatic migrations and adjustments made by any people in human history. The twelve million American Negroes of today are not Africans; they are a new people who, in custom and temperament and even in physical features, have been modified and changed by their life in the New World. They, in turn, in no small measure have molded and influenced the total life and history of the American people of which they are a part. It is, therefore, as interesting and significant human beings, neither better nor worse than other folk of like opportunities, that I have tried to present American Negroes in these pages.

In a book based on factual material the problem of sources becomes a serious one. Particularly in the first few chapters I have cited a number of facts which do not coincide with popular notions about Negro history, and references to spe-

THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

Chapter One

THE NEGRO COMES TO AMERICA

1. *The Negro Meets the New World*

THERE are today more than twelve million Negroes in the United States.[1] Forming almost a tenth of the total population, they are concentrated in cities and scattered through villages, towns and open country in some degree in every state in the union.

The Negro has long been a contributing if not a determining factor in dividing political parties, and for a hundred years figured in the wars and treaties between the United States and other nations. He has been the occasion of countless state laws and three amendments to the Constitution. He has furnished the theme of thousands of books and unnumbered lectures, sermons and orations. His presence has brought forth riots, lynchings and bitter hatreds, though he has continued to be the theme of sentimental song and story. He was for years a commodity on which fortunes were made and lost, and on his labor was built in large measure the social and economic life of the old South. Opinions regarding him and attitudes toward him still divide the country in sections. Yet he has long since quietly moved on to the national stage as an active rather than a passive factor.

In spite of all that has been said and written on the sub-

[1] All reference numbers relate to notes at the end of the text. See page 171.

ject, and although the Negro has lived in the United States during the whole of its history, strangely little of his origin and his story is known. Negroes themselves, on the whole, are ignorant or indifferent regarding their own past, and indeed they could hardly be otherwise since schoolbooks are for the most part silent regarding the Negro peoples and authoritative information is not easily to be had.

The first contact of Negroes with the North American continent is not surely known. There is a tradition that at least one Negro came with Columbus, probably as pilot of the *Niña*. Free Negroes, skilled in the mechanical arts, were fairly numerous in Spain and Portugal at the time, and Negroes figured as slaves and servants and possibly as free men in the explorations and settlements by the Spaniards throughout the period of their early contact with the Western world.[2]

Certain it is that Pánfilo de Narváez had with him when he landed in Florida in 1528 at least one Negro. This man's name was Estevan. He, with Cabeza de Vaca and two other white men, survived the unfortunate expedition and wandered for years before finally reaching the Spanish settlements in what is now Mexico. Mendoza, then ruler of New Spain, sent the Franciscan monk Fray Marcos de Niza to investigate the survivors' story of the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola, giving him the slave Estevan as a guide. After a month's travel Estevan was sent ahead with instructions to gather information and report by means of wooden crosses, which, by their size, would indicate the relative importance of his news. After a few days an Indian appeared in camp burdened with a cross the size of a man. Other crosses appeared from time to time.

Without waiting for Fray Marcos at the appointed distance, Estevan pushed on until he reached the first of the

Seven Cities. With a following of some sixty Indians gathered together on the way, he seems to have entered the town in state. For the Indians of the town, who presumably had never seen people of another race, the appearance of a black man claiming to be the messenger of white men was a little too much to believe. After due consideration they killed him.

Fray Marcos, on hearing the news of Estevan's death, contented himself with gazing on the city from a distance and then made a hasty retreat. His report seems to have been the basis of Coronado's expedition in 1540, and the good friar was a hero until on closer examination the city proved to be less glorious than its appearance from afar had indicated. Although the tradition of Estevan's death lingered in Indian lore, and apparently the murder was given by Fray Marcos as his own excuse for conducting his investigation from a neighboring hill, the fact seems generally to have escaped notice that to the murdered Negro and not to the more cautious friar belongs the honor of having discovered the fabled city.[3]

It is also certain that "black men and red men" were with Coronado when he set forth on the famous expedition of 1540. The large number of colored people in the New World at this time is suggested in reports of Negroes in Mexico who "elected a king"; of Sir Francis Drake's alliance with a "tribe of savages and self-freed Africans"; and of John Hawkins's use of a Guinea Negro, educated in Portugal, as an interpreter.[4]

2. *The American Slave Trade Begins*

The first clear record of Negroes who actually remained on the soil of what is now the United States is found in John Rolfe's *Journal* of 1619, in which was recorded, "There

came in a Dutch man of warre that sold us twenty negars." It thus seems that Negro slavery in the American colonies may have begun as a sort of accident.

For fifty years the importation of slaves was casual, but by the end of the century economic conditions had changed and the slave traffic was soon to be in full swing. It is estimated that one hundred thousand slaves were brought in during the first fifty years of the eighteenth century. By 1790 the slave population numbered close to seven hundred thousand, there being also sixty thousand or more free Negroes.

The story of the African slave trade marks one of the darkest records in the history of the Western world. Africans had enslaved each other, and Arab traders had carried slaves out of the country for many years, but the European trade, beginning about the middle of the fifteenth century, was both in its method and its extent far more terrible than anything hitherto known in the history of slavery. First, Portugal held a monopoly of the trade; and then the Dutch held it. Finally the French, English, Danish, and American nations vied with one another in bringing men, women and children out of Africa. For three hundred years Africa was raped and plundered, her native kingdoms disorganized, her rulers and people demoralized, social life and industry smothered or distorted, and a large portion of the continent plunged into a sort of dark age, from which it has never fully recovered.[5]

The first slaves were probably kidnapped or bought along the west African coast from native rulers who, like their European contemporaries, justified the enslaving of prisoners taken in "just wars." But a world economic pattern was developing that made some form of cheap and forced labor a necessity. In the midst of the rapid colonial expansion that

was taking place, chance buying became too slow and uncertain for the trader. Soon various trading companies were organized, and their forts, or "factories," extended from the Senegal River to Angola, the region referred to by the slavers as the Guinea Coast. A few slaves were brought from Madagascar and the east coast, but on the whole both distance and the presence of pirates seemed to discourage slave trading there. It seems probable that the largest number of American slaves came from the region of Dahomey, the Bight of Benin, and the Gold Coast, though a number were doubtless brought from the Congo and we find frequent references to Negroes from the region of the Gambia and Senegal Rivers. It must be remembered, too, that the slave trails sometimes extended far inland—perhaps for a thousand miles—and slaves were drawn from a large part of Africa south of the Sahara.[6]

3. *Collecting the Slave Cargo*

The method of securing slaves is significant for our story in that it is known that many persons bought by the slave traders were already slaves or prisoners of war, or else were sold into slavery as punishment for crime. From these facts it has been easy to put forth the argument that the Negroes brought to America were the more cowardly and servile individuals of their tribes, that they were primitive peoples who were criminally inclined, or that they were too weak to fight off intruders. An examination of the writings of men who manned the European forts on the coast, as well as the unconscious evidence that appears in the various records of the period, leads rather to the conclusion that the persons carried out as slaves probably represented a fair cross-section of native life in the areas into which the slave trails extended. If it is true that the more powerful and wealthy usually

escaped the clutches of the trader, it is equally true that the weak and unfit either were rejected by the buyer or else perished in the triple gauntlet of the march to the coast, the Middle Passage, and the breaking-in period on the plantations.[7]

As the traffic grew and the Negroes were carried away by the thousands, the securing of victims became a serious business. Certain native rulers soon established themselves with the factors or slave brokers by agreeing to deliver regular quotas of slaves. There was a tacit agreement of protection for the ruler in return. The chartered trading companies preserved a sort of honor among thieves to the extent that each more or less played fair with the particular kings with whom it had alliances, though not scrupling to stir up wars and then help to fight them. The interlopers, ten-per-centers, or independent traders, as they were variously known at different periods, had no scruples at all. There are records of numbers of persons of high rank who were kidnapped or captured by them and sold as slaves, and no African person within their range was really safe.[8]

Moreover, the African rulers, as well as individuals, found themselves unable to resist the rum, guns and ammunition, and the European trade goods which the slavers offered for the human merchandise. Kidnapping raids were often made on villages while the men were away at war, individuals kidnapped each other, and there was an increasing tendency to punish even trivial offenses by selling the victims. The petty chiefs near the coast were said to be completely demoralized by the trade in rum. Even the more powerful rulers not only made slave raids on their enemies but often sold political offenders and sometimes their own families "without regard to rank or possession." [9]

There is indisputable evidence that as the demand for

slaves grew both the independent traders and the chartered companies directly or indirectly incited native wars in order to keep up the supply of captives. A king or chief who failed or refused to supply the required number of slaves ran the risk of having his own town raided and his people taken.[10]

Further indication that the slaves were not always real criminals or merely the refuse of the continent lies in the fact that there was an increasing tendency to buy only the young and vigorous. The usual range for adults was twelve to forty years, though some traders demanded that they be under twenty-five, and there are numerous records of children sold at seven, eight and nine years old. One slave factor wrote that an "abundance of little Blacks" were kidnapped from the millet fields where they were sent to scare the birds from the grain, and a West Indian writer complained of a slave ship in which he said a third of the cargo were not men and women but "such Pittiful Children." [11]

That the captured Africans did not always submit tamely to their captors is revealed in the numerous records of attempted suicide and mutiny. One vivid account stated: "The Negroes are so willful and loth to leave their own country that they have often leap'd . . . into the sea and kept under water till they were drowned, to avoid being taken up and saved by our boats which pursued them; they having a more dreadful apprehension of Barbados than we can have of hell; . . . we have likewise seen divers of them eaten by the sharks, of which a prodigious number kept about the ships in this place, and I have been told will follow her hence to Barbados, for the dead Negroes that are thrown overboard in the passage. . . . Others starved themselves to death; for 'tis their belief that when they die they return to their own country and friends again." [12]

One experienced slaver advised his fellow traders to have an overseer with a cat-o'-nine-tails to force food upon those who refused to eat, while another reported that he was "naturally compassionate" yet he had been "necessitated sometimes to cause the teeth of those wretches to be broken because they would not open their mouths or be prevailed upon by any entreaties to feed themselves."

Thomas Clarkson in his fight against the slave trade exhibited to members of the British Parliament articles displayed in Liverpool shops which catered to slavers. The list included not only handcuffs, thumbscrews, and shackles, but also a metal instrument offered as a sure means of forcing open the mouths of Negroes who preferred starvation to slavery.[13]

4. *The Middle Passage*

Surely no migration of people was ever effected under conditions better designed to degrade and bewilder and to rob of all vestiges of a former life than was the bringing of Negroes to America. While some of the company traders prided themselves on keeping their slave decks clean, supplying decent food, and refusing to overcrowd, and were thus able to deliver almost the whole of their cargo, most of them seem to have proceeded on the assumption that it was more profitable to load heavily and take a chance on the losses. All the records agree that the slaves were crowded as close together as it was possible for them to lie. Sometimes this was spoon fashion, there not being room for them to lie on their backs, nor was there room for them to stand. The men were chained together by twos and were also chained to the floor until after the ship sailed and sometimes for the whole voyage. Sixteen or eighteen hours out of the twenty-four were usually spent in this crowded fashion, and in rainy weather when no one could go on deck there

were even longer periods. When disease broke out among them or when rain made it necessary to keep gratings closed, the morning often found the living chained to the dead.

The number of slaves who perished on the Middle Passage * is variously estimated. Of course the mortality varied, the independent traders usually being more careless and less experienced than the better-organized companies. Wilberforce in summing up the evidence before the Privy Council of Great Britain estimated a loss of twelve and one-half per cent. Other estimates run much higher. Reference here is made only to those who died on board the ships and not to the terrific death toll of the slave raids and the breaking-in periods on the plantations.

That cruelties on the slave ships were usual and atrocities not uncommon is evidenced by the records of the slavers themselves as well as by cases which went into the courts. There are known cases of inhuman mutilation and torture, and at least one case in which weak and sick slaves were drowned in wholesale fashion for the purpose of collecting insurance. There were other barbarities which one would find it impossible to believe were the official records not available. In the investigation before the British Parliament one advocate of the trade made no attempt to deny the charge of cruelty and inhumanity. He said rather that "the Slave Trade was certainly not an amiable trade. Neither was that of a butcher, yet it was a very necessary one." [14]

5. *Finding a Justification*

The philosophy by which so-called Christian nations could justify such a traffic in human beings has more than a historic interest. It is relevant to our story, for out of this changing philosophy developed present-day attitudes

* See page 30.

toward Negro peoples. The earliest philosophy of justification was based not on race nor on the supposed inferiority of the Negroes but on religious grounds. It was permissible to enslave the Africans because they were heathen. Moreover, any heathen land was a legitimate area of conquest, and there was nothing incongruous in making converts by the sword. When Antam Gonçalvez captured some Moors in 1441 he agreed to exchange three of his high born captives for ten ordinary slaves on the basis that it was "better to save ten souls than three." [15]

John Hawkins's piratical expeditions were evidently considered as belonging in the category of "just wars." In his several voyages in the latter part of the sixteenth century he got into his possession "partly by the sworde and partly by other meanes" three hundred Negroes, besides other booty, with which "praye hee sayled over the Ocean sea." In his second voyage to Guinea he burned and despoiled various towns and took the inhabitants without being attacked, for "God who worketh all things for the best would not have it so." Later, with his stolen Negroes on board, he encountered "contrary windes" and "some Ternados," and was then becalmed and threatened with a shortage of water. But "the Almightie God, who never suffereth his elect to perish," sent a "Brise" and so the journey ended safely. The account ends, "His name therefore be praised forever more, Amen." [16]

Hawkins's ships in various voyages included the *Jesus*, the *Angel*, and the *Grace of God*. His sailing orders to his ships always closed with the words, "Serve God daily; love one another; preserve your victuals . . . and keep good company." "Serve God" seems to have meant that the ship's company should join in religious services morning and evening; and this the slavers regularly did. That Hawkins

was not alone in his ideas is indicated by the fact that after his second voyage he was granted a coat of arms. For a crest he was to have a figure of a Moor, "bound and a captive," with golden amulets on his arms and ears.[17]

A variation in this philosophy of "just wars" is indicated in an episode which occurred in Massachusetts in 1646 in the case of one Captain Smith, who kidnapped some Negroes on the coast of Africa. He was required to send them back, apparently because he had stolen them instead of buying some taken in "just wars." The "act of chaceing the negors upon the Sabbath day (beeing a servile worke)" seems to have been considered almost as bad as "ye haynus and crying sinn of man stealing." [18]

6. *The Notion of Racial Inferiority*

Justification of slavery and the slave trade on the basis of the Negro's inherent inferiority or on the fact of his race apparently did not play any considerable rôle during this early period. This fact is evidenced by the attitude of the slave factors and of the European people in general to the native rulers with whom they traded for gold, "elephant's teeth" and pepper, as well as for slaves. The early records almost uniformly refer to the more powerful rulers as "King" or "Prince." British officials regularly addressed the Ashanti king as "Your Majesty," and the great wealth of the Fantinians was said to make them so proud and haughty that Europeans trading with them must stand bareheaded in their presence.[19]

Apparently the African kings felt no sense of inferiority. The Dahomean king, Gezo, was said to be so proud that he "treads the earth as though it were honored with its burden." [20] On more than one occasion a native ruler enslaved a white man whom he had taken in a "just war."

An English slave factor who was taken prisoner by the king of Dahomey was treated with every courtesy but was kept two years on the basis that he was a war captive and hence the king's slave. The crew of the *Oswego*, captured by an African chief, did not fare so well. They were put at hard labor and incidentally developed many of the traits commonly ascribed to the Negro slaves.[21]

Perhaps the most convincing proof that the question of racial inferiority did not play an important rôle in the early period lay in the number of young Africans who were sent to European cities for an education or for the broadening effect of travel, and in the courtesies there extended them. One writer says that there were generally from fifty to seventy-five of these boys in Liverpool, besides those who went to London and Bristol. Others were sent to France and Germany. These young princes were well received and not infrequently presented at Court. As late as 1830 two Ashanti princes were sent to England to be educated and were present at the coronation of Queen Victoria. In the minutes of one of the trading companies is an order for expenses of "two black gentlemen" to include board and lodging, incidentals and "shewing them the Town." The clothing ordered for the boys included, among other items, twelve ruffled shirts, one blue coat and breeches for each lined with white and laced with silver, scarlet waistcoats trimmed with silver, and pumps with silver buckles.[22]

The presence of these African youths in Europe and the alliances with native kings did not in the least hinder the buying of slaves, as the native rulers were themselves partners in the crime. The slave trade was good business for the European and it was the African's only means of securing the products of the Western world. Even English royalty held stock in the companies, and it was considered just as

well that one not think too much about the details. Some blacks were young princes that European ladies made pets of and others were "perishable commodities" to be thought of in terms of profit and loss.[23]

The early justifications of enslaving the heathen in order to convert them and of enslaving captives taken in "just wars" lost their force as soon as the slaves became Christians and children were born to slave parents. Furthermore, the plea that they were better off than in their own country did not seem to warrant keeping succeeding generations in bondage. At the same time vast industrial and economic changes were making the slave system increasingly profitable. It was at this point that there came into full play a philosophy of justification that has lasted down to the present day.

This philosophy justified slavery and the slave trade on the basis of the essential inferiority of all Negro peoples. They were sons of Ham, cursed from the earliest days, and hence fit only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. With the Negro thus effectively and permanently assigned to his place, life might go on comfortably in the old patterns and there was no need for any concern with the Dark Continent out of which he had come. This attitude was reinforced by the generally accepted ethnocentric approach to other cultures * and later by a missionary philosophy which identified the Christian message with Western civilization. Thus it was that only in relatively recent years have any intelligent investigations been made of African life and cultures that would throw light on the backgrounds out of which the American Negro came.

* The word "culture" used in this sense refers to the sum total of beliefs, habits, customs and ways of living of a people.

Chapter Two

LOOKING BACK TO AFRICA

1. *When Ancestors Are Important*

PERHAPS no other people were ever so completely severed from their past as were the Negroes brought to America. Gathered together from many different areas, they were driven on to slave ships naked and empty-handed. Members of the same tribe were purposely separated, and language itself was forgotten. Like other peoples that poured into America from various parts of the world, the Negro had his own gifts of mind and spirit. But his master had use only for his broad back, strong arms, and obedient will. The habits and skills, the manners and morals, of Africa were quickly lost in an environment that gave them no chance to survive. There is in American life today, even among Negroes, almost nothing that is distinctly African. The American Negro is an American.

But however much the Negro may be an American, he bears the visible symbols of his non-European ancestry. In terms of psychic satisfactions, ancestors and "the old country" seem to be important to the individual. Witness the Chinese before their ancestral tablets; the Japanese revering an emperor who is the Son of Heaven; the Australian elders as they tell their children of the exploits of the Dawn Beings; and the Americans who like to trace their ancestry to Europe and who heavily overload the *Mayflower*. Why should not the Negro look behind the relatively brief episode of

American slavery to the land of his fathers, even if that land has never been his own?

2. *Africa as a Land of Mystery*

So far as we know it, the history of the Negro peoples has been, in the main, lived out on that part of the continent of Africa which, because of its position and by reason of other factors, has always been off the main highways of the world. The continent was to the ancients a sort of huge peninsula jutting away into the unknown, in which various mysterious beings dwelt. When Prince Henry of Portugal early in the fifteenth century wanted to send an expedition in search of the fabled land of Prester John he was told that persons rash enough to go very far down the coast of Africa would surely be turned to blacks and thus forever bear the brand of their folly. It was not until six years after Columbus first sailed to America that Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope.[1]

The same geographical factors that led to isolation and helped make Africa a land of mystery contributed also to the retardation of most of the African peoples. North Africa, of course, did not share in this isolation. The countries north of the Sahara and those bordering on the Red Sea were both racially and culturally affiliated either with the Mediterranean area or the Near East and figure only incidentally in the story of the Negroes. Though certain Negro kingdoms shared for a period in the Arabic civilization of their day, they were unknown or later forgotten by the Western world.

A position on the edge of things, a lack of natural harbors, numerous falls and rapids in the rivers, deserts, tropical rain, forests, poisonous insects, and predatory animals were among the factors that kept the most of Africa shut off from the

rest of the world. This lack of contact with other peoples and all that such contact carries in the way of stimulation and exchange of ideas, along with the absence of certain useful plants and animals, helped to hold back the Negro peoples in the march of progress. Yet in spite of these clearly recognized handicaps in the natural and cultural environment, the Negroes were never the brutish savages they are sometimes supposed to have been.[2]

Physically, the African Negro of our old geography books was a dull or ferocious looking creature, with coal black skin, woolly or fuzzy hair, sloping forehead, broad nostrils, prognathous jaw, and thick everted lips. In reality this type has never been easy to locate in any numbers, and, as Livingstone is credited with saying, "is really to be seen only as a sign in front of tobacco shops." [3]

As a matter of fact, the Negroes of Africa vary widely. There are among them striking differences in height, build, features and hair texture, with skin color ranging from very dark brown to bright bronze and lighter shades. Even among the Bantu-speaking peoples, who occupy most of the southern portion of the continent, neighboring tribes cannot always understand each other, and outside the Bantu groups there are several hundred languages and dialects. There are likewise wide differences in African social organizations, including the whole round of customs and beliefs, as well as in material culture. There are of course general likenesses among many Negro African institutions, but in particular instances they may vary greatly.

3. *The Black Kings of Timbuctu*

The highest development of social and political organization among the Negroes grew up in West Africa in the region known as the Sudan, between the Sahara Desert and

the tropical rain belt to the south. To most Americans, perhaps, "Jenné" is an unknown term and "Timbuctu" stands as a synonym for the ends of the earth. Yet at the time when our north European ancestors were just emerging from a state of semi-barbarism, Jenné was an important commercial and intellectual center of Africa and there flourished at Timbuctu a university famed throughout North Africa, Spain and the Near East. Jenné was definitely a Negro city, and Timbuctu, although it owed its beginning to a mixed-blood people, reached its glory under a dynasty of black kings.[4]

It is not possible to unravel the various factors that may have gone into the making of the advanced cultures which marked the kingdoms that grew up in this area. Certainly some of them owed much to Moslem influence, which in the seventh century swept across North Africa and by the eleventh century had penetrated into this region to the extent that a number of Sudanese groups were converted to the new religion. Arabic became the language of the intellectual circles and of the schools, and Islam became the religion of a part, though by no means all, of the inhabitants. There was, of course, some intermixture with the Arabs and the Berbers from the north, and certain groups should perhaps be considered as peoples with a Negroid strain rather than as Negroes. But some of these kingdoms developed either before or outside of the Moslem influence, and the great empires of Ghana, Songhoy and Mandingo, or Melle, while affected and at times ruled by a non-Negro or Negroid element, were certainly black empires and basically Negro in any but the most extremely limited sense of that term.[5]

Askia the Great, a Negro king, is said to have made of Jenné and Timbuctu intellectual centers which radiated a

brilliant lustre and to which white and black scholars went to complete their education. The black intellectuals of Timbuctu visited the universities of Fez, Tunis, and Cairo, and were said to have astonished the most learned men of Islam with their erudition. Some of them were installed as professors in Morocco and Egypt. One of these black scholars was Ahmed Baba, who wrote some twenty books, including a biographical dictionary and the *Miraz*, a little book about the different negraic peoples which was written with a view to making the Sudanic populations better known to the Moors. When Timbuctu was sacked by the Moors and the Negro scholars sent into exile, it was the loss of their private libraries that grieved them most.[6]

But the glory of the Sudan did not lie merely in its two most famous cities. The somewhat fragmentary records now coming to the attention of the Western world reveal a rich and varied life which flourished throughout this region and which had its beginning long before the effects of Islam were felt. There emerges the story of the shifting fortunes of various empires that at one time and another rose and spread their power over neighboring areas, of black cities and kingdoms ruled by white men, and of white peoples ruled by blacks.

Such was the empire of Ghana. It was ruled first by white kings, so tradition says, but it reached the peak of its power in the eighth and ninth centuries under rulers whom Arab authors formally claim to have been Negroes. It received tribute from the white Berbers, and it extended its influence to the heart of the Sahara and its renown to Cairo and Bagdad.

During the fourteenth century the Mandingo empire was noted for the luxury and the rigorous and complicated ceremonial of its royal receptions. Its organization and civiliza-

tion could be compared to those of the Moslem kingdoms or indeed to the Christian kingdoms of the same epoch. This empire, founded and directed by Negroes, was governed by a family of rulers who exercised power from the time of its small beginning, through its rise and decline, for an almost uninterrupted period of thirteen centuries.[7]

4. *The Fall of the Black Kingdoms*

One naturally asks what happened to these kingdoms, why they disappeared and were forgotten by the world. We have seen that their contacts were with the north and the east, and this intercourse was maintained through the caravan routes across the desert. Shortly after Columbus opened the way to the New World the Moors were expelled from Spain and were pushed back into North Africa, which then became culturally separated from Europe. The dispossessed Moors in time pushed south across the desert into the Sudan, where, near the end of the sixteenth century, aided by a band of hired Spanish renegades, they overran the Songhoy empire, then in power, and took possession of Timbuctu, thus breaking the long period of peace and cultural growth which had marked that empire. Negro Africa was shut off from the civilized world, and although her kingdoms survived for a period she was more or less bottled up in the center of a continent while Europe came into her own. Civilization, now not in Moslem but in Christian hands, left Africa off its line of march and pushed westward across the Atlantic.[8]

The Islamized groups of the Sudan may have regarded their southern neighbors as heathen. At any rate the more northern kingdoms made slave raids into the territories to the south. Some of the slaves were sold to European traders and others to Arabs, but those kept as domestic slaves were

treated more or less as members of the family, often attained to positions of importance, and tended to be absorbed into the general population. Moreover, as the powerful rulers pushed their empires southward, absorbing various peoples, an extension of their civilizing influence seems definitely to have been under way.

Along with these movements was the development of purely Negro kingdoms which gave promise of higher cultures. What might have happened to the Guinea Negroes had this slow process been allowed to continue we shall never know. For at the same time that Timbuctu and the other centers of learning were being cut off from the main stream of civilization, the European slave trader was making his way along the Guinea Coast in search of human cargo. Thus the white world through the Moorish invasion from the north and the approach of the slave trader from the west laid a heavy hand on Negro Africa in just those areas where she gave most promise of developing and spreading a higher culture.

5. *Negroes of the Guinea Coast*

In reading the story of the advanced areas of the upper Sudan and travelers' reports and certain ethnological literature concerning the more primitive Negro groups of the west coast, one is reminded of Rome and Britain in the time of Julius Caesar and the centuries following. If we may believe the Roman writers of the day, the Britons of Caesar's time were crude barbarians. They were living in scattered groups constantly at war with one another, they painted and tattooed their bodies, they indulged in bloody human sacrifices, they were carried to Rome and sold in the slave markets, and they were even accused of eating human flesh. All of this might be taken for a description of the more

primitive tribes of the Guinea Coast, who were in like manner looked down upon by their black but literate and more civilized neighbors to the north.[9]

But even among the relatively primitive coastal peoples there were tribes whose kings and chiefs had to be reckoned with by the European traders and later by the European governments as well. When the slave trade was legally abolished by England and America, and Europeans began to make direct contact with African rulers for the purpose of establishing trade, they invariably were astonished at the advanced cultures which they found.

None of these peoples proved to be more interesting than the Ashanti of the Gold Coast. Numerous records of the slave dealers refer to the "Shantees," who were said to be very intelligent but extremely proud and difficult to handle. The British government found itself involved in six wars with these people before it could subdue them. It was said of one of the Ashanti kings that he never fought an unjust war, never broke a treaty, never failed to respect an ambassador, and never violated a flag of truce, all of which was more than could be said of many of the British officials with whom he had to deal. Some of these officials recognized the worth of the Ashanti rulers, and in the treaties and official documents of the time the king is referred to as "Your Majesty" and the queen mother as "Your Royal Mother."

When the first British mission visited the Ashanti capital in 1817 they were greatly astonished at the display of wealth and the magnificence of the court. The gorgeous silk umbrella canopies of the various chiefs, the thousands of soldiers, the music, and the abundance of purest gold far surpassed anything they had ever imagined. The courtiers wore gorgeous silk robes made of foreign silks unraveled and rewoven after their own fashion. Intricately wrought

gold jewelry, gold and silver pipes and canes, and gold-handled swords decorated with golden rams' heads dazzled the eyes and testified to the art of the Ashanti craftsmen.[10]

An Englishman who visited the neighboring kingdom of Dahomey in 1849 referred to "the extraordinary innate civilizations which exist among the blacks," and described Dahomey as a country of contrasts in which the grand vizier who casually decapitates a prisoner of war "studies and understands an etiquette that would do honor to the most civilized court in Europe." [11] The markets of Dahomey were pictured as being very extensive, the views beautiful, the dwellings clean, neat and quiet. The approach to the capital was along a broad clear road as wide as any high-road in England, with branch roads, equally good, approaching the palaces. The advanced state of this kingdom was not of late development, for more than a hundred years before an Englishman captured by one of the king's predecessors had written of "the power and grandeur of this conquering king, which has often surprised me, not thinking to see anything like it in this part of the world." [12]

Other writers tell of Dahomean kings who maintained regular courier service between the capital and the port, with runners stationed at post houses in all intermediate towns. Travelers were required to carry the carved wooden staff of a chief as a passport. These kings levied taxes and customs duties, and made and kept accurate by frequent revision a census of every person in the kingdom.[13]

There were, of course, other West African peoples who had achieved varying types of culture. Their social organizations in some cases were extremely simple and in other cases approximated those of Ashanti and Dahomey. But even the simplest of the village states followed and still follow today the general pattern of organization of the larger

kingdoms, with ministers and dignitaries who serve as counselors to the chief or king.

The Negroes of the west coast area were long ago noted for their gifts in the arts. The Dahomeans displayed great talent in wood-carving, particularly in their stools, staffs, and statuettes. The Ashanti were famed for delicate and intricate work in gold and for the tiny brass weights used in measuring gold dust, the weights representing almost every conceivable design in the most delicate and artistic patterns and workmanship. Bronze work of Benin of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is now to be seen in European museums. The four-petaled rose and the disk of turning flames which ornaments the door plates and metal vases from Benin are found in identical form in the various countries of Negro Africa. The people of Benin were likewise skilled workers in wood and ivory, and also in iron. Some students believe iron work to be an indigenous and original Negro art.[14]

Perhaps in no realm have African Negroes been more grossly misrepresented than in that of personal morality and family life. While their moral standards often differ widely from ours, there is among them no group living under recognized tribal discipline that does not have standards which it seeks to enforce. In even the simplest societies there are some forms of conduct regarded as suitable for well bred people and there are other things which are "simply not done." In many tribes chastity in women is regarded as a virtue expected and even required in the better class; marriages are arranged with due regard for the welfare of the group as a whole; and usually divorces may not be granted without cause. There is probably no place in the world where children are more eagerly welcomed than in Negro Africa. One writer supposes that ninety per cent of

the prayers offered up to pagan gods by African girls solicit the blessing of children, and he adds: "I do not believe that this ardent desire is one whit in excess of their capability of bringing them up if these prayers are answered." [15]

Women hold a much more important position in Negro Africa than is commonly supposed. The custom of "buying a wife" is generally misunderstood by Western peoples. Among the Ashanti as well as in various other groups a woman can inherit and hold property which her husband cannot touch. While theoretically a girl has no choice in the selection of a husband, in practice "affairs do not take place with such rigor." The young man frequently asks his father to secure for him the girl he wants, and the girl herself is often in accord with this request. Polygamy is still common in African societies, and widows are inherited. Yet even here the woman is often given some choice in the matter, and Negro Africa does not normally have unprotected widows or orphans.[16]

In former days the Ashanti queen mothers were extremely influential in the social order. When the Ashanti king signed a treaty of peace with the British government one of his official representatives was a princess of the royal household. The Ashanti elders told one English official that "we supposed the Europeans considered women of no account, and we know you do not recognize them as we have always done." [17]

6. *The "Land of the Fathers"*

There is, of course, nothing to be gained by a sentimental glorification of the life of the Negro African. Primitive life always holds much of superstition, cruelty, and barbarism. Wars, slavery, polygamy, human sacrifice, and even cannibalism were at one time common in many places in Negro

Africa, the west coast area being particularly noted for the annual "customs" in which many human victims were offered up. But such practices can never be considered fairly apart from the rôle they play in the society. When seen in their normal setting they are evils, to be sure, but not necessarily evidences of wanton cruelty or disregard for human life and welfare. The human sacrifices in particular were definitely connected with the conception of one's obligation to the gods and respect for departed ancestors, and the victims offered were in most cases criminals or prisoners of war.

It seems clear that even in the face of such practices, and the primitive state in which many African peoples lived, we cannot fairly regard the Negro peoples as having no history and no culture. For we have seen that since the distant past throughout Negro Africa the people have been found in well defined social groups living sometimes in relatively simple fashion under the control of a clan or tribal chief, sometimes in highly developed states and empires under the rule of a powerful king. In every case, no matter how simple the political and social organization, there have been very definite rules of conduct or behavior, including regulations regarding marriage and divorce, inheritance of property, division of labor, the waging of war, educational procedure, and religious observance. In other words, long ago the African peoples worked out for themselves forms of social organization which represented a reasonably satisfying adaptation or adjustment to their environment, by which they have been able to live and function as social groups.

It was out of such diverse and by no means always unworthy backgrounds that the Negroes came to America. As Africans they had been of various languages and cultures, and among them were old and young, rich and poor,

slave and free, stupid and intelligent, skilled and unskilled, servile and proud. Some of the larger planters in America came to judge the relative merits of tribal groups in terms of their value as slaves. One may find references to the sickly Gaboons, the slothful, quarreling men of Calabar, the adaptable Whydahs, the handsome and good-humored Congoes, the intelligent but physically weak Senegalese, the proud Fantinians, the Ebbos, "hardy and stubborn but much addicted to suicide," and the Coromantines of the Gold Coast "all born heroes" with "not a coward or a rascal of that nation." [18] But whatever the tribal background or the personal character and skill, slavery leveled them all to a common bondage and a common status. On American soil these diverse groups became one people. Through the veins of many of them today there flows in some degree the blood of the various European stocks of which America has been made, and that of the Indian as well. Physically, as well as culturally, American Negroes are increasingly separated from Africa. But there seems to be no reason why they should not, along with the rest of the world, take pride in the "land of the fathers."

Chapter Three

THE COLONIAL PATTERN OF SLAVERY

1. *Slavery and Servitude*

MORE than a year before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth the first "twenty negars" had been sold to the settlers at Jamestown. As one writer has expressed it, with the landing of these Negroes "we pick up the first end of the black thread which has run through our destiny." [1] The colonists could not know, of course, that the black thread would become so interwoven with the fabric of American life as to become a dominant and often determining factor in shaping the pattern.

Beyond the fact that they were brought in by a Dutch man-of-war whose captain sold them for needed provisions, we know little of these Negroes. They seem to have been accepted on much the same basis as the white indentured servants and probably were sold for a period of servitude only and not as slaves. At least we know that four years later Negro church members are reported in the settlement and some thirty years later there were free Negroes in the colony, for there is a record that one of them, Anthony Johnson by name, had land assigned to him. He also had servants of his own, for another Negro accused Johnson of holding him in indenture "longer than he should or ought." Johnson claimed that he had a right to his servant for life, and proved it by winning a counter suit against a white man involved in the case. It thus appears that in one

of the earliest records we now have of a legal decision confirming life servitude in the colonies, both owner and slave were Negroes.[2]

Slavery was unimportant in the colonies for almost a century. Such regulations as were made were local in their application, were designed to meet specific problems or situations as they arose, and usually applied to servants and slaves alike. Throughout the early part of the colonial period one may find notices of the sale at auction of white servants as well as slaves, and both could be rented for a period of service. Apparently these white and colored servants associated freely and intermarried, for less than twenty years after the arrival of the first Negroes, Virginia was conscious of her mulattoes * and attempted to prevent race mixture.

The lot of neither servant nor slave was an enviable one, but neither was the lot of the poor in any part of the world at that time. Whipping and branding were common forms of punishment even for free persons, and mutilations were not unknown. Many of the white servants had no more to do with their coming to the colonies than did the Negro slaves. The "free-willers," or redemptioners, of course, sold their services for a limited period of years, but thousands of boys and girls of the poorer classes were "spirited" from England by kidnappers. Moreover, the colonies became a dumping ground for criminals, some of whom were political prisoners of the better class but many of whom seem to have been accurately described by the Virginia House of Burgesses as the "worser sort of the people of Europe."

* Throughout this book the term "mulatto" is used in a broad sense to indicate any degree of Negro-white race mixture. Except where specifically contrasted with "mulatto," the word "Negro" is used in an inclusive sense.

Fairly early, however, there developed a tendency toward a gradual tightening of regulations on the Negro and a growing differentiation between the indentured servant and the slave. Slaves came to be treated as chattels or property which might be disposed of by will or sold; servants were taxed by the poll, and the contracts under which they served, and not themselves, were listed as a part of the master's estate. More important still, the children of a woman servant were free, while the children of a slave mother became slaves and the property of the person who owned the mother.

Moreover, the law usually provided that the freed servant be given a gun or tools, and perhaps fifty acres of land. As there were few women in the colony the white women servants often married before their terms of service were out, the remainder of the indenture period being paid for by the husband. The white servants were thus absorbed into the general population and as free persons had opportunity to make their way. The Negroes, on the other hand, had increasingly little opportunity to gain their freedom, and their children were not their own. The Negroes thus came to be set apart and slavery gradually became a matter of race.[8]

2. *The Slavery Pattern Spreads*

The use of slave labor in the colonies was in the nature of an experiment, the outcome of which seems to have been determined on a practical basis. The colonists had two immediate factors with which to reckon—the Indians and nature herself. In a land where life must begin on the simplest level of wresting a living from the soil, labor was a crying necessity. All the goods and services which could be bought or hired in a more developed society had to be

provided by either slave or indentured labor, for land was plentiful and no free man need work for another. Since the colonies needed all their man power for defense against the Indians they naturally hesitated to run the added risk of slave uprisings. As one writer of the day expressed it, the Negroes "make unwilling servants" and they "cannot serve as husbands for our daughters" or settle on the frontier as a defense to the province.[4] These factors served to encourage the use of the white indentured servant in all the North American colonies during the greater part of the seventeenth century.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, the attitudes toward slavery were sharply correlated with the economic and social needs of the colonies. The slave was least profitable in the New England trading area where the climate was severe and conditions led to the development of towns. The Negro was unaccustomed to the cold, he was not trained to the more or less skilled type of labor required, and the necessity of substantial housing and warm clothing added to the expense of keeping him. There were always a few Negroes in this area, concentrated principally in the port towns, but on the whole the white servant better fitted into the New England scheme of life.

The New England colonies, however, did their full share as slave carriers, and the wealth of towns as well as of individuals often was made in the slave trade itself. In a New England port the slaver loaded with a cargo of rum, which he took to the Guinea Coast and traded for slaves. From there, if "God sent the good ship to her desired port in safety," [5] he disposed of his human cargo in the West Indies or the Southern colonies. Here he took aboard naval stores, lumber, or molasses, which he carried back to the New England port to be used in the building of more slave ships

and the making of more rum. And thus the circle was repeated.[6]

In the middle colonies the climate and soil were not suited to plantation settlement, and the small farmers and traders there, like their New England neighbors, found it more to their profit and liking to have as servants "sober industrious foreigners" who would ultimately settle on land of their own and thus help along the "peopling of the country." The attitude toward slavery in this section was further influenced by the large number of Quakers who never felt "easy in their minds" concerning human bondage and who fairly early began declaring themselves against "traffick in men-body." [7]

Granting a general acceptance of the institution of slavery, together with the availability of slaves, a slave system was practically inevitable in the Southern planting colonies. The large grants of land, the type of settlers, the mild climate, the suitability of soil and climate for such crops as tobacco, rice, indigo, and cotton, which made possible the year-round use of unskilled labor—all these were factors which led to an ever increasing slave population.

The only restrictions on the number of slaves in this area seem to have been economic ones or those prompted by fear of insurrections. The governor of Maryland wrote, "We are naturally inclined to love Neigros if our purses would endure it." Virginia was in constant alarm over threatened insurrections but her efforts to limit importations were usually thwarted by the crown. Most of North Carolina's slaves were brought by incoming settlers from Virginia, and foreign importations were not important. South Carolina believed slave labor to be essential to her rice plantations, but shortly before the Revolution she was fearful of insurrections and complained that the Negroes were three

to one of the white subjects, since "the number of Negroes do extremely increase . . . and through the afflicting providence of God the white persons do not proportionately multiply."

While other colonies, fearful of uprisings, struggled with the home government to be allowed to limit the slave trade, Georgia was making repeated petitions for the opposite purpose. Oglethorpe and the London proprietors had, from various motives, forbidden rum and slaves. The Georgians insisted that rum was "very wholesome in this climate" and "Negroes are as essentially necessary to the cultivation of Georgia as axes, hoes, or any other utensils of agriculture." They got their rum and they evaded the slave law by bringing Negroes across from South Carolina and hiring them for life. Finally, they openly bought them in Savannah from African traders. By 1749 the governors yielded and Georgia hastened to catch up with her neighbors in the possession of the "utensils" necessary to her agriculture.[8]

3. *The Negro's Adjustment to Slavery*

It is generally agreed that the Negro rather quickly accommodated himself to slavery; that under it he thrived and multiplied, even as the Indian resisted or pined and died. The usual inference has been that the Negroes were accustomed to slavery in Africa and were furthermore of a naturally servile disposition. The explanation is simple and convenient and satisfying in that it carries an implied justification. It happens, however, to be a little too simple to compass the whole truth. Africa could not have been a land of slaves without also having been a land of slave holders, and the Negroes brought to America seem to have represented a fair cross-section of native life. Moreover, African people in general do not exhibit any unusual degree

of servility but seem to possess as much independence and self-respect as other folk. Even when allowance is made for the not undesirable traits of adaptability and an extrovert's temperament,[9] the American Negro's adjustment to slavery can be more reasonably accounted for in terms of the conditions involved in the total situation.

In Negro Africa, as among most primitive peoples, the life of the individual is so intimately bound up with and controlled by group life that any severance from the group brings about personal disorganization. The individual has not been trained to think or act apart from the group. The Negro who was brought to America not only was completely severed from his tribal group but was also, after the bewildering weeks and sometimes months of the slave voyage, set down in a completely strange world with all avenues to the homeland cut off. His color made escape into the wilderness difficult, and every precaution was taken to make such escape impossible. Even so, many slaves did run away, suicides were by no means uncommon, and every colony showed the fear of insurrections.

The newly imported slaves were subjected to three years of a definitely planned breaking-in schedule. Scarcely more than half of those who left Africa lived to make the adjustment to strange food, the colder climate, enforced labor, and the personal reorganization required in the new life. Slaves speaking the same language were separated and new slaves were put with seasoned ones for this period. Thus the adjustment was speeded for the African born. The children born in America were conditioned from infancy to regard their status as ordained of God.[10]

It must be remembered, too, that however skilled the Negro may have been in the relatively simple culture of his homeland, he was at enormous disadvantage in the com-

plicated life of the Western world. Under the circumstances it was inevitable that the Negroes who survived should for the most part be those who could rapidly accommodate themselves to the slave status and accept the white man's obviously superior power as evidence of his right to rule. This was not because the slaves were Negroes or naturally servile creatures but because they were human beings placed in a new and difficult environment, and, like all human folk, were prone to survive by whatever adjustments the situation might require.

The rapidity with which the Negro took over the new culture was determined in large measure by the area in which he lived, the tasks assigned him, and the character of his particular master. In the northern and middle colonies the slave was in close contact with the white world and had opportunity to learn and observe through this association. In Virginia, and to an extent in Maryland and North Carolina, while there were fewer contacts with the white world as a whole, there was a degree of personal association with the master's family. In the South Carolina rice fields the slave had least opportunity of all, for he soon outnumbered the whites and often worked in gangs with practically no contact with any white person except the overseer.

Along with these regional differences were individual ones depending on the master and the occupation of the slave. House servants and those trained for the more skilled tasks naturally had the advantage over the field hands. Perhaps because of his appearance, because of his origin, or because it was believed that white blood meant superiority, the mulatto seems usually, though by no means always, to have been given more advantages than his darker brother, and thus more quickly to have achieved skill and sometimes freedom.

4. *The Treatment of Slaves*

Beyond doubt many slaves were harshly treated in this period, but the treatment seems to have been more a part and parcel of the "crude and cruel times" than any particular cruelty to the slave as such. Moreover, the institution of slavery implies that the slave is a thing rather than a person. If one grants the institution to be justified, then the laws necessary to maintain it become both reasonable and right.

These laws varied with the different colonies but there was an essential likeness in them all. In general they forbade the slave's owning property, keeping domestic animals, or hunting. His master had the right to sell him, bequeath him as a chattel, whip him, brand him, mutilate him, and if he was given to running away to outlaw him and offer a reward for his head. There were statutes which forbade his leaving his owner's plantation without a pass, or assembling with his fellows for any purpose without the presence of a white man. In some cases he was forbidden religious instruction. Other laws forbade his learning to read and made it illegal to give him his freedom. Occasionally a law required that the master provide certain minimum rations of food and clothing and sought to restrain undue severity, but laws of this sort were few. It was not until 1774 that North Carolina finally passed "an act to prevent the wilful and malicious killing of slaves," but this law did not prevent the killing of those regarded as outlaws and those who resisted their lawful masters. Nor was there any punishment imposed upon those who caused the death of their slaves while giving them "moderate correction." And the testimony of a slave against a white man was not admissible in court.[11]

Fortunately men are often better than the laws they make. Legislators, frightened by uprisings real or threatened, thought of the Negro *en masse*, grew panicky, and passed harsh measures. Individual slave owners who had a personal interest in and often an attachment to their slaves were prone to make exceptions. Throughout the slave period the owner was often a kindly master. Here and there one might find Sabbath schools for slaves. There were slaves who owned property, and those who had bought their freedom or had been manumitted, even when the law forbade. Many of the Quakers and other religious persons taught their slaves to read the Bible, and sometimes the slave was taught a trade so as to be able to earn his living as a freedman.

As the Revolutionary period approached, the more liberal philosophy of the time, reinforced by economic and social conditions, found expression in an increasing number of manumissions, fewer restrictions on the free Negro, and a larger opportunity for both the free Negro and the slave. The Revolution itself was not without its effect. In the ten or twelve years following the Declaration of Independence many slaves in one way or another found their freedom. Some of these slaves accepted the British army's promise of freedom and security; some went away with the loyalists; others found their way into the Continental army; many took advantage of the general disorder and escaped to the Indians.

The Continental armies overcame their first reluctance and accepted both free Negroes and slaves for military service as well as for general labor purposes. Certain Virginia masters sent slaves to war as substitutes, and both South Carolina and Virginia offered healthy Negro slaves as bounties to soldiers who would enlist and serve for a

designated period. Rhode Island had a Negro regiment that distinguished itself for gallantry. On the whole some three thousand Negro troops served creditably with the Continental armies, and others of course served with the British troops.[12]

Following the war, anti-slavery societies sprang up North and South. Most of the states freed their slave soldiers, and all the states north of Maryland made some move toward either gradual or complete emancipation. In the Southern states there was a general relaxation of the severities of the slave system.

5. *Education and Religion*

Throughout the colonial period education and religion were closely identified. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in the Sabbath schools for Negroes, slave or free, the pupil not only received religious instruction but also, except when such was forbidden, was taught to read and sometimes to write and cipher. Whatever education the slaves received was in large measure made available to them in the Sabbath schools, which often were the only means of education open to the free Negro, as well.

Both John Eliot and Cotton Mather had complained that the slaves were treated like domestic animals and "little care was taken of their precious and immortal souls" for fear of losing the benefit of their vassalage. The Virginia Assembly and later other bodies came to the rescue in declaring that "baptism doth not alter the condition of a person as to his bondage or freedom." Thereafter one might continue to enslave the heathen, allow them to receive the Good News of the gospel, and still run no risk of losing the property after it was saved.[13]

These decisions concerning the status of baptized slaves

opened the way for the earliest systematic efforts toward the conversion and religious instruction of the Negroes. Certain clergymen of the Church of England were commissioned to spread the gospel among the heathen of the New World. While this activity was limited to relatively few places, there were real achievements. Elias Neau was reported to have reached fourteen hundred Indian and Negro slaves in New York, and Samuel Thomas in a ten-year period brought under instruction a thousand South Carolina slaves, many of whom learned to read the Bible. Some years later a school for training Negro teachers was opened in Charleston and was put under the direction of Harry and Andrew, two men of color who had been trained for the purpose. It was planned to have other slaves "well instructed in religion and capable of reading their Bibles to carry home and diffuse the same knowledge to their fellow slaves." The school had a good attendance but the pupils seem mostly to have been free Negroes.

The Quakers did their most effective work among the free Negroes in the towns, since they soon ceased to hold slaves of their own and had little access to the plantations. Outstanding contributions were made by such men as John Woolman and Anthony Benezet, who taught the Negroes and did much toward persuading individual owners to educate and emancipate their slaves.

In the decade following the Revolution the Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians were not only concerned with the conversion of both masters and slaves but also took high stands regarding emancipation. Certain Baptist churches came to be known as the "emancipating Baptists." The Presbyterian synods of New York and Pennsylvania urged their members to educate their slaves so as better to prepare them for freedom. The Methodists declared slavery

to be "contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature," recommended provision of free instruction for all the poor, black or white, and the publication of textbooks for teaching them "learning and piety." The Quakers disowned some of their number who refused to free their slaves and some Methodist and Baptist churches either dismissed or disciplined members for slave holding. This activity was sufficiently effective to cause complaint that the churches were interfering with the institution of slavery. Unfortunately only the Quakers consistently held to the idealism of this period.

Comments were not lacking on both the intelligence and the eagerness for learning of the Negroes, slave and free. One clergyman reported that there were multitudes of Negroes in different parts of Virginia who were "eagerly desirous to be instructed" and many of them "could already read a plain author and especially the Scriptures." He pleaded for books for these persons, saying that on Saturday evenings and Sundays his home was crowded with numbers of those whose "very countenances still carry the air of importunate petitioners." [14]

There seems at this time to have been a lessening objection to the instruction of slaves and almost none to the education of freedmen. As a result of these conditions and of the efforts put forth by the abolitionists and the churchmen, Negroes in considerable numbers were getting at least an elementary education. They had reached the point of constituting a majority of the mechanics in slave holding communities, they were serving as salesmen, keeping accounts, managing plantations, teaching and preaching. Possibly fifteen or twenty per cent of the adults could at least read. The majority of this advance guard were, of course, the free Negroes or privileged slaves who soon obtained

their freedom, a group composed in large measure of the more favored mulattoes.

6. Exceptional Slaves and Free Men

Many of the more talented Negroes became preachers, the ministry being the calling that offered the freest opportunity for the colored person of ability. Among these men were such persons as George Leile, who won some distinction as a preacher in Georgia and who later went to Jamaica where he founded the first Baptist church of that colony. His work in Georgia was creditably carried on by Andrew Bryan, one of his converts. David George preached in South Carolina and later went with other freed slaves to Sierra Leone and established a Baptist church there. John Gloucester, trained under a white minister in Tennessee, founded the African Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, and Josiah Bishop served as pastor of a white congregation in Portsmouth, Virginia. "Black Harry" traveled and preached with Bishop Asbury; John Stewart served as a missionary to the Indians. Some of these men were illiterate; others were fairly well educated for the times. Most of them preached to both white and colored congregations. And many of them had been born as slaves. Much of their work extended into the nineteenth century but they seem to have been the product of the freer life of the Revolutionary era.

Other figures emerged to gain recognition along different lines. A colored man known as Caesar was the author of a collection of verse which was published in North Carolina. Thomas Fuller, an African-born Negro of Virginia, achieved a certain fame for his astonishing skill in mental arithmetic, although he could neither read nor write. James Durham, a slave of Philadelphia, was bought by a

physician in New Orleans, under whose guidance he learned to speak French and Spanish and achieved some reputation as a physician.

Outstanding among the Negroes of this period were Benjamin Banneker and Phillis Wheatley. Banneker was a free Negro of Maryland who had the opportunity of an ordinary education, in which he showed an especial interest in mathematics and astronomy. Encouraged by a white neighbor who lent him books, he learned to calculate eclipses. He is credited with making the first clock manufactured in America and with having published the first almanac produced in this country.[15]

Phillis Wheatley was brought to Boston on a slave ship when she was eight or nine years old and sold to a family who trained and instructed her. Within sixteen months this child who had previously known no word of English was said to read the Bible fluently. She early showed a talent for writing poetry and was taken by her master to England, where her poems were published and where she was well received by the Lord Mayor of London and various notables of the time. Misfortune in the Wheatley family and an unfortunate marriage ended the girl's literary efforts and she died in poverty when barely past thirty. There was nothing remarkable about either the poems or the education of Phillis Wheatley when considered apart from the circumstances. When, however, one considers the quality of the poetry written in the colonies at the time, the educational accomplishments of Boston young ladies of the period, and the fact that the slave child was eight or nine years old when brought from Africa, her achievements must be counted extremely creditable and indicative of high native ability.[16]

There is another figure, today almost unknown, that came

briefly into the American picture and dropped out of it again, being one of the few slaves who went back to Africa. This was Job, son of Solomon. The father was a priest and scholar in one of the advanced kingdoms of West Africa, and Job himself could write the entire Koran in Arabic from memory. He was kidnapped by men of an enemy tribe and sold to a slaver who in turn sold him to a Maryland planter. His habit of praying with his face toward the East attracted attention and he finally managed to write his father a letter which James Oglethorpe sent to Oxford for translation. On being convinced of the genuineness of the story, Oglethorpe had the letter forwarded to the father and arranged for buying the young man's freedom. A visit to England followed, where Job was well received by scholars and persons of the court. He was ultimately sent back to Africa under English escort, and in thanksgiving for his return he celebrated not by feasting and dancing but by a three-day period of fasting and prayer.

Job was, of course, an unusual member of a slave cargo. Yet it was only by accident that he attracted the attention of kindly persons who released him. His story is significant chiefly in that it leaves one wondering how many such others there may have been who failed to survive the Middle Passage or who were lost from sight in the rice swamps or great plantations.[17]

7. *The Slave Enters the Nation*

By the close of the colonial period there were some fifty or sixty thousand free persons of color in the states. Slavery had practically disappeared or was on its way out in the area north of Maryland. The Continental Congress had entered into a non-importation agreement, and it looked as if the nation might begin its life with the slave trade out-

lawed and slavery itself destined to disappear by gradual emancipation.

Idealism, however, could not hold out against habit, social custom, and economic interest. When Jefferson wrote into the first draft of the Declaration of Independence a clause condemning George III for imposing the slave trade on the colonies it had to be struck out at the instance of South Carolina and Georgia, and, as Jefferson later said, because the "Northern brethren also . . . felt a little tender under the censure; for though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."[18] A still more ominous portent for the Negro's future appeared in the treaty of peace which stipulated that His Majesty should withdraw his army "without carrying away any Negroes or other property."

In framing the Constitution one more effort was made to protect the new nation from the slave trade and ultimately perhaps from slavery itself. But, unlike Maryland and Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia were not overstocked with slaves, and so a bargain was struck between these two who wanted the slave trade left open and the "Northern brethren" who wanted federal control of navigation.

Looking back, one can see already forming the sharp line of cleavage that would one day split the nation. At the time, however, it was felt that slavery would gradually disappear; the Southern colonies promised to do something about it in their own good time; it seemed necessary to preserve the union at any cost. And so into the Constitution went three fateful provisions regarding slavery. Taxation and representation were on the basis of the number of free persons plus three-fifths of all other persons, a provision which incongruously enough made the slave "three-fifths man and two-fifths chattel." Congress was forbidden, prior

to 1808, to prohibit the importation of such persons as the existing states should think fit, and provision was made for the return of persons "held for labor or service" who should escape from one state into another.

It is worth noting that the word "slave" did not appear in the Constitution. But though the ugly word itself was left out, the new nation had written human bondage into its very foundations and had promised not to interfere with the slave trade itself for another twenty years.

Chapter Four

SLAVERY AS AN INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

1. *The Rise of the Cotton Kingdom*

THE ready acceptance of the Constitutional compromise with slavery was due in part to the fact that the institution was regarded as more or less temporary, the variations in attitude toward it rather accurately reflecting the economic interests involved. "The South apologized for slavery, the middle states denounced it, and the East could only tolerate it from afar."

Moreover, the fathers of the new nation had other problems with which to wrestle. The task of bringing together thirteen states with different histories, different climates, and different social and economic problems was made difficult by slow transportation, the absence of any means of quick communication between sections, and a general ignorance of one another. Under the circumstances, to get together at all was a major achievement. It is small wonder that for the next thirty years the question of slavery was not in the forefront of national life.

Underneath this apparently smooth surface, however, a harsh story was being written. Certain forces and events were combining to stop the progress toward abolition, to bind the Negro more tightly in his chains, and to create an ever widening rift in the economic pattern, the political principles, and the philosophy and sentiments of the North and South. Chief among these forces were the influences

arising from frontier life and from that complex combination of factors known as the industrial revolution.

We have seen that even in the colonial period there was a wide difference in the usefulness of slaves in the farm and trading colonies of the North and in the planting colonies of the South. The plantation type of settlement is dependent on some form of cheap or forced labor. In the South climate and soil were suitable for the production of tobacco, rice, indigo, cotton and sugar-cane, all of which could be produced by unskilled gang labor. And to the south and west there stretched apparently unlimited acres of fertile and relatively unoccupied land which became the ever moving frontier. We may then say that the final factor, the availability of slaves, made the plantation possible, but perhaps it is equally true that the plantation made slavery possible through making it profitable. For slavery in nineteenth-century America was shaped and dominated, one may almost say created, by the plantation pattern.[1]

The plantation of the colonial period was relatively small. Except on the rice plantations, which were in unhealthful areas, the planter usually lived on his land and hence knew his slaves and developed a certain personal relationship with them. Such slavery was a patriarchal system and not an industrial institution, and in time might have been shifted to a basis of peasant labor.

In 1793 there came into this picture Eli Whitney's cotton gin, which made it possible for one man to seed more cotton in a day than fifty men formerly had been able to do. More important still, perhaps, was the fact that the cotton gin came at the end of one series of inventions and at the beginning of another. These inventions had already led to machine spinning and weaving in factories, a change which was to upset the pattern of family life, alter the division of

labor in the Western world, and make for the growth of cities in industrial areas. The steamboat and later the railroads were to furnish cheap transportation and thus to add the factor of accessible markets. Within a generation more changes were to take place than centuries had witnessed previously. And these changes were to put the world into cotton cloth to such an extent that even the trail of the missionary was to be marked by the native in cotton garments.

The invention of the cotton gin showed its effects almost immediately, for it came into a situation that seemed to be waiting for it. The United States rapidly became the most important source of raw cotton in the world. In two years cotton exports jumped from half a million to six million pounds. The figures increased in staggering amounts until in 1832 the United States was shipping over three hundred million pounds of cotton to Europe, and had nearly eight hundred mills running.[2]

New lands were opened up and there was a feverish rush to secure slaves. South Carolina shocked the nation by reopening her foreign slave trade in 1803, and in the following decades both North and South engaged in a smuggling era which shamed the country before the world. Many of the slaves were landed in the newly opened regions of Florida, Louisiana, and Texas. One ship is known to have landed openly in Savannah as late as 1859.[3]

Thousands of families pushed into Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas. Some of the migrants were planters from the seaboard states who carried their plantation slaves in large numbers with them in the search for more fertile land. Others were small farmers and erstwhile overseers with a single slave or slave family trudging beside the cart or wagon which bore the remain-

der of the owner's worldly goods. Thousands of slaves were carried south by the slave trader, who collected his cargo in the border states and shipped them in droves. The newspapers of the day carried numerous advertisements of "stock and breeding Negroes." In one way or another the cotton states increased their slave population from less than a hundred and fifty thousand in 1820 to more than a million five hundred thousand at the opening of the war.[4]

2. *The Nation Becomes Sectional*

As the frontier swept south and west, creating the so-called cotton states, and at the same time pushed west along the middle and northern regions, the differentiation between the slave and free areas became increasingly apparent. Of the original thirteen states seven were counted as free, while Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, the Carolinas and Georgia were slave. Vermont was added to the free column and Kentucky and Tennessee to the slave group, making the two equal in number. Then, alternately free and slave, there came in Ohio and Louisiana, Indiana and Mississippi, Illinois and Alabama. Then the silent, scarcely conscious rivalry between the two areas suddenly sprang into flame. Missouri came up for organization as a state. It was proposed that slavery should be excluded. The South protested that the people of each state should choose for themselves whether slavery should be permitted. The North insisted that Congress had full power to make exclusion of slavery a condition of entrance into the Union.

With startling clearness the sectional differences stood revealed. Two systems of labor, two economic patterns, two organizations of society stood face to face. It became clear that with the increasing profits from slave labor, ideas of abolition had largely dropped from the Southern mind.

Where she had once apologized for slavery, the South now defended it not only as an economic necessity but as morally right and as a benefit to the slave as well as the master. It was equally clear that as slavery had become increasingly unprofitable in the North, anti-slavery sentiment had found fertile ground.

Once more bargains and concessions were made and the balance of power was temporarily restored by the Missouri Compromise. It was to be forty years before the bonds of the Union would finally break, but already the strain was great. With the coming of machines and factories the North had grown industrial and urban. But, although those same machines had helped make possible the so-called Cotton Kingdom, the South was still rural and agricultural. Slavery was of no use to one, but apparently essential to the other. The conflict was basically one of struggle for power between two sets of social and economic interests masked under, as well as influenced by, moral justifications on each side.

This is not to say that there was no disinterested moral concern for slavery. The Quakers as individuals and as a group had consistently worked for ultimate abolition and had long since manumitted their own slaves. While the other church bodies had receded from their high positions of the Revolutionary period, certain ministers and laymen, North and South, had been ready to fight the evil at any cost. In the decade following the Missouri Compromise there were more than a hundred anti-slavery societies established in the slave states, and more than one slave owner not only manumitted his slaves but carried them to a free state for colonization. The legislatures of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New Jersey passed resolutions calling on Congress to provide for compensated emancipation and expressed will-

ingness that their states should pay a proportionate share of the burden. But such sentiments were rare. On the whole the Northern states objected to the presence of free Negroes in any considerable number, and as far as the state legislatures were concerned the ground was basically one of economic or political interest.

These two economic and social systems were themselves shaped by a multitude of forces of which the men most bound up with them were scarcely aware. The Northern states by their urban industrial organization were subject to the stimulation of contact and were moving in the general stream of thought of the Western world. In the South, climate, geography, invention, habit, and historical accident had served to create a plantation system which had shaped the master as well as the slave to its own ends. The South today, black and white, is still under the shadow of the plantation, and one cannot hope to understand the Negro or his place in American life without seeing him and the white South which has so largely controlled his destiny as products not only of slavery but of the plantation with which it was so intimately bound.

3. *Patterns of Slavery*

To say that the plantation system dominated and shaped the South is not to imply that all whites were plantation owners or all Negroes plantation slaves. To portray the South at this period requires not a picture but a series of pictures.

A description of the plantation at its best has come down to us from the daughter of a planter who moved with his family and slaves from Virginia to Mississippi and transplanted there something of the life of the Virginia gentleman. Here the mistress of the household watched over the

welfare of the slaves, nursed the sick, instructed the children, taught the women to sew, and gave special attention to the weak and handicapped members of the group. The master personally supervised the work of his slaves, provided abundant and wholesome food, adequate clothing, and comfortable, well furnished quarters. The slaves were permitted to plant gardens, raise chickens, and to enjoy visits and holidays. There was a "tearin' down weddin' " for household servants; only incorrigible slaves were sold; rewards took the place of punishment as a means of control. There was a minister to shepherd the black flock, and in the end the planter sacrificed his own security because he was unwilling to leave his people without providing for the welfare of the aged and helpless. In spite of certain shadows this is a true picture of slavery at its best.[5]

A second careful account, no less true, gives a different story. An English woman married to a Georgia rice and cotton planter spent a season on her husband's plantation. Here on a marshy island, she found a small rough house in ill repair, a harassed overseer with a kindly but timid and ineffective wife, and several hundred crude, ignorant and uncouth slaves collected in "quarters" in various sections of the huge plantation. The children were dirty and neglected, the cabins filthy and unfurnished. Sick persons slept on dirt floors with only ragged blankets for protection. There was inadequate clothing, insufficient food, flogging of women, disregard of family ties, squalor, ignorance, degradation. The master visited the plantation occasionally; no mistress had been on the island for years. And this, too, was the plantation and slavery.[6]

Two other pictures may be borrowed from a writer who found himself sorely puzzled by the contradictions of slavery. He found, on the Texas border, household after

household of slovenly illiterate whites with varying numbers of quarreling, sullen, undisciplined slaves, growing up and living their lives with scarcely more of opportunity and training than would have been given to so many animals. But some time later at another farm he found a decent, thrifty, and kindly though illiterate master with some twenty well managed slaves, none of whom had been whipped in five years, all of whom could read, and all of whom were industrious, trained, self-respecting, and apparently cheerful and content. And here also was slavery.[7]

It must be remembered, too, that in the border states, and to a certain extent in the South, there were small farms on which a few slaves worked along with the farmer and his sons. Many others were hired by their masters or were allowed to "hire their own time" to work in the towns and villages. And as not all the Negroes were plantation slaves, so not all the white people were aristocratic planters. There were, of course, the generally despised overseers and slave traders; there were a limited number of small farmers and tradespeople; there were professional folk; there were the poor whites of the piney woods and the mountain coves. It has been estimated that on the whole perhaps three out of four white families of the South had no property interest in slaves, and by no means could all of these be classed as poor whites. But the attitudes and relationships of all of them, and the laws and customs of the states in which they lived, were molded and shaped by the pattern of the plantation.[8]

4. *Religion with Letters*

In general, except for the passing of certain barbaric practices characteristic of an earlier day, the restrictions and prohibitions of the colonial period were multiplied and intensified in the era of national slavery. As the slave be-

came more valuable—and his value came to be set by the price of cotton—laws became more strict. In some states manumission was forbidden except by special act of the legislature, and in others it was possible only when the freed Negro was sent out of the state. In most of the slave states it was sooner or later made unlawful to teach a slave to read. In many states he was forbidden to follow certain trades, particularly those which gave him an opportunity for further enlightenment. Following an insurrection led by Nat Turner, a Negro preacher, a number of states forbade preaching by either free Negroes or slaves. As insurrections were found often to result from dissatisfaction growing out of enlightenment and not from harsh treatment, it was felt necessary to close every possible avenue of learning which might lead the slave to be less docile and content.[9]

Throughout all the pattern ran the ugly thread of the domestic slave trade, which in spite of denials and the genuine desire of some masters, resulted in the separation of families, the sale of young children, and a brutal disregard of decency, morality, and the normal ties of blood and affection.

Yet in spite of harsh laws and the inherently degrading nature of slavery itself, the picture was not wholly dark. Laws were not always obeyed and each master could usually do pretty much as he pleased with his slaves as long as they were kept in order. The slave's opportunity for enlightenment and progress thus depended to a large extent on the character of his master and of course to a degree on the occupation to which the slave himself was assigned. As in the colonial period, those who were household servants or who in other ways were brought in close contact with the better class of white people enjoyed exceptional advantages. The large plantation was "a little

nation of its own, having its own language, its own rules, regulations, and customs" in which the house servants and the skilled workers formed a sort of black aristocracy.[10]

The privileged women learned to spin, weave, and sew. They were cooks, maids, dairymaids, and laundresses. Some of them became excellent nurses, midwives and even doctors after a fashion. Men were millers, carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, painters, coopers, cobblers, confectioners, sailors, miners, engineers, typesetters, mechanics, and even jewelers and silversmiths. Some slave mechanics could not only build but could draw plans, make contracts, and complete a house on their own responsibility.

In spite of the laws many slaves learned to read and some of them to write. Sometimes they were taught by members of the master's family, sometimes they learned from each other, and they often acquired the knowledge in curious and devious ways. Frederick Douglass was taught to read by his mistress and learned to write by copying the chalk marks which carpenters put on the lumber in a shipyard where he worked. He, in turn, taught many other slaves both individually and in a little school which he secretly conducted on the plantation where he later lived.[11]

When the master or his family were religious persons some sort of religious services or instruction was usually provided for the slaves. Before the fear of insurrection led to increasingly stringent laws, the Sabbath schools for Negroes were often what one writer has called "religion with letters"; that is, the children were taught to read. Later oral instruction was substituted in conformity with the laws.

At certain periods the religious instruction of the slaves became the object of rather widespread missionary activity. In most of the Southern states manumission was forbidden

by law so that from necessity and sometimes from conviction the church leaders limited their efforts to improving the condition of the slaves, persuading masters to permit their slaves to receive religious instruction and providing missionary preachers. When increasing tension over the question of slavery led to divisions in the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches, the Southern bodies continued this work.

In some cases the "apostles to the slaves" were outstanding men of the denominations to which they belonged. Robert Ryland led the work of the Baptists in Virginia, and Bishop Meade of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the same state advocated education and colonization of the slaves. The Presbyterians were strong advocates of "religion with letters," and one of their number, C. C. Jones, rendered effective missionary service in Georgia. Among the Southern Methodists the outstanding leader was Bishop Capers. Under his influence more than twenty-five missions were opened in South Carolina, and by 1861 the church as a whole had throughout the South more than three hundred ministers giving full time to the "plantation missions," in addition to the pastors in whose white congregations slaves were included.

Even after the rise in the North of separate church bodies for Negroes most of the slaves maintained their membership in the white churches; they had little opportunity to do otherwise. In some sections the laws were ignored and the Negroes had separate congregations, with buildings of their own and colored ministers. On the whole, however, they sat in the galleries of the white churches at the usual service hours, or met there on Sunday afternoons for instruction by the white minister or to hear a plantation exhorter who was approved by the master. By far the largest number of

the slave communicants came into the Methodist and Baptist churches, the freedom and evangelical fervor of which suited them better than the more dignified and formal services of other denominations. Twenty years before the Civil War one-fifth of the Southern slaves were said to be church members and about two millions were claimed as regular attendants.[12]

5. *Shadow of the Plantation*

Slavery in general and the plantation in particular represented an adjustment or accommodation by which two groups having different cultural, educational, and economic standards could live together in a reasonably peaceable and orderly fashion. The difference in the cultural and social levels of the two groups made it inevitable that the accommodation be on a basis of dominance and subordination. Such an adjustment necessarily molds the members of each group to an appropriate type, for its stability depends not so much on force as on carefully inculcated sentiments and habits of authority on the part of the dominant group and of deference and obedience on the part of the subordinate.

In order that the system be maintained it was necessary that all members of the dominant race be sharply differentiated from members of the subordinate group. Thus even the most degraded and despised of the poor whites, who were partially a product of the system, must feel themselves better than any member of the slave race. And likewise the members of the slave group must be taught to accept their place at the bottom of the social pyramid as both fixed and right. The slave might despise the poor white and in a sense feel superior to him, but at the same time he must never forget that as a group all Negroes were below all white men. It was the necessity of maintaining

this pattern that left no place in the South for the free Negro and that drew into the plantation system all of the white Southerners whether they held slaves or not. Of course the building of such a social structure must not be regarded as a conscious or planned procedure. It was the result of a long process of interacting forces, and the white Southerner at any given period was the product rather than the creator of the system. Once the scheme became accepted it became "right," and when attacked was justified on the basis of the Negro's inferiority or of a divinely appointed hierarchy of races.[13]

It thus comes about that the severest indictment of the slave system is not to be found in the criticisms made by the abolitionists but in the unconscious revelations of its defenders. Whether most of the slaves were treated cruelly as the abolitionists claimed, or with kindness as the slave owners insisted, is relatively unimportant. The results of the plantation and of slavery are with us today not because of any suffering which the slave endured but because of habits of thinking, feeling and acting, which the slave system created.

When the slave owner boasted that his slaves were contented and happy, he forgot that only a degraded man makes a contented slave. When he explained that his slave was fortunate in that he need take no thought for the morrow or concern himself with the children's bread, he forgot that dependence and lack of responsibility are acceptable only in the immature or the mentally incompetent. When he told, half in amusement and half in pride, how each slave boasted of the superiority of his own master, he failed to see the degradation of those who must take their status not from their own but from another's worth. When he stated truly that many slaves would desert parents and

children and wives or husbands to follow a kind master, and that the "black mammy" loved "her white children" better than her own, he failed to see that perhaps the worst rather than the best side of slavery had been revealed. When the word is added that the slave woman was often proud rather than ashamed of being the mother of the white man's unacknowledged children, the slave's acceptance of the dominant world's estimate of the relative worth of black and white is fully revealed.[14]

The tragedy of slavery did not lie in the fact that the slave worked long hours, that he had too little of food and clothing, that he was often flogged, or even that he was sometimes sold away from his family. The tragedy lay in the fact that from infancy he was so conditioned and trained by precept and the collective expectation of his world that he came to believe in his own inferiority and to accept his servile status as a matter of course. The slave system could continue to exist because it had made of him a slave in mind as well as in body. This was the crime of slavery, and, in part, of the plantation itself, and from its shadow the Negro masses have not yet wholly emerged.

Chapter Five

THE BREAKDOWN OF SLAVERY

1. *The System Begins to Crumble*

THE slave system as it finally evolved represented both a division of labor and a definition of status whereby each racial group had a specific place in the social order. To the extent that the members of both groups agreed on the Negro's subordinate place and accepted the arrangement as right and proper, or at least inevitable, the system "worked," and while there may have been discontent, there was no conflict.

From the beginning, however, there were Negroes who did not fit into the scheme. In spite of the care exercised in the breaking-in period, there were insurrections, rebellions, and runaways. Moreover, as we have seen, the slave system was not set down full grown on American soil, and long before it was fully formed there were many free Negroes. Then as Negroes and white men came to know each other and personal relations developed, the white man himself came to grant to individual Negroes a status different from that of their fellow slaves. Thus throughout the slave period a growing number of Negroes in one way or another gained their freedom, and of course increasing numbers were born free.

Regardless of the means by which he escaped from the slave status, the free Negro was a threat to the slave system and a tangible evidence of the possibility of its breakdown.

In the Northern states, where slavery was not profitable, the slaves were never numerous and the system disappeared before it could become fully established. What few Negroes there were came to fit into the social order, in a measure, at least, in terms of their individual worth rather than as a separate caste.

Something of the same process seemed to be making headway in the border states and even in the South until the rise of the Cotton Kingdom made slave labor enormously profitable. From the economic standpoint it became highly important that the system be kept intact; hence the free Negro became an acute problem from the white man's point of view. If the free Negro was lazy, good for nothing, and thievish, as he often was, he became a nuisance to the community at large. If he was industrious, thrifty, and successful, as he frequently was, he became a source of envy and dissatisfaction to the slave and a disconcerting denial of the supposed racial inferiority of the Negro. In either case he was a threat and a menace to the established order in which the Negro had been assigned to a place of dependence and subordination.

The free Negro, however, was not the only threat to the slave system. Just at the time when slave labor was apparently most profitable in the cotton states, the rest of the world was moving into the era of the industrial revolution that marked the closing years of the eighteenth century and the opening decades of the nineteenth. Slavery and the plantation system were outmoded from the economic, social, and humanitarian points of view. The slave trade was outlawed by the civilized world: England freed the slaves in her colonies; Mexico and various South American countries obtained their independence and freed their slaves; the Negro leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture, staged a successful

rebellion in Santo Domingo. An urban industrial civilization was developing in the North, education was becoming more general, newspapers, railroads, and the telegraph were bringing the world together. While the South seemed to be making huge profits from her cotton, she was actually lagging far behind the North and East in population growth and in per capita wealth, in education and in other forms of social progress.[1]

Moreover, the more intelligent slaves were never wholly unaware of all these movements. Though sometimes to the grieved astonishment of their masters, the better they were treated and the more opportunities for enlightenment they were given, the more they rebelled against their servile status and wanted to be free. The slave system was thus threatened from within as well as from without. With her social and economic institutions endangered and her political power and prestige rapidly slipping from her, the South was increasingly on the defensive and sought by every means possible to preserve her institutions and to maintain her place in the national life.

It is only against such a background that the closing decades of national slavery can be understood. The restrictions on the free Negro, the colonization schemes, the laws against manumission and against the education of Negroes, the Fugitive Slave Law, and the passionate justification of slavery on the basis of the Negro's inherent inferiority and on Biblical grounds must all be interpreted in the light of the South's struggle to preserve not merely her fast crumbling slave system but her whole social organization with which it was bound. On the other hand, the growing number of free Negroes, the slave insurrections, the underground railway, the intellectual and economic progress of the free Negro, and the rise of the Negro church must be

seen as the Negroes' part in the break-up of the slave pattern and as a struggle for the status of free men.

2. *Free Negroes in the South*

The number of free Negroes steadily increased during the slave period, though the proportion of increase was smaller in the late years than in the Revolutionary era. By the opening of the Civil War there were something like four hundred thousand free colored persons, or approximately as many as there were white slave holders. In spite of the restrictions against them more than half of the free Negroes were in the slave states, Maryland and Virginia having the largest number, while Mississippi, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas had fewer than a thousand each.

The largest number of free Negroes were manumitted slaves, though of course the number of children born of free colored parents progressively increased. By 1850 one out of every three free Negroes was a mulatto, while only one slave in ten was of mixed blood. There is no way of knowing how many free mulattoes were the children born of free women and how many were the manumitted children of slave mothers. It is certain that not all mulattoes, slave or free, were the children of white masters or overseers and slave women. The plantation furnished its share of such mixed bloods, of course, but proportionately the greatest race mixture took place in the towns of the South and in the border and Northern states where contact between the races was easier than in the more restricted and regimented life of the plantations.[2]

Most of the slave states had laws requiring a manumitted slave to leave the state, but such laws were only spasmodically enforced. The free Negro was subjected to much restrictive legislation based on the general charges that he

was a thief and a receiver of stolen goods, that he was lazy and improvident, and that he fostered insurrections. The notion that the free Negro went about stirring up the slaves to strike for their freedom seems to be without foundation, though his presence may have been suggestive, to say the least. The other charges were true for one element of the free Negro population. If one remembers, however, that the free Negro was forbidden to go to school, that he could not move from one place to another to look for work, and that numerous occupations were not open to him, it appears that he was almost "legislated into poverty, vagrancy, and crime." [3]

On the other hand, there were in the South as well as in the North numerous "free persons of color" who were both respectable and respected, who maintained a stable and normal family life, followed regular occupations, owned property, and in some cases owned slaves. These persons lived mostly in the towns and cities, and they followed various trades. When, after an uprising or the publication of a census return revealing the increase of the free Negroes, the white people began to "stir and flutter" and to threaten deportation, petitions would come in from white citizens stating that certain free Negroes could not be spared from their communities. Statements to the effect that "he is a good and useful man" or that "no party or wedding can be given without great inconvenience if her bake shop is closed" indicate in part at least the white man's reaction to his individual Negro neighbor.

In four states the free Negroes were required to have official guardians, in eight states they had to be registered, in practically all their testimony would not be accepted against a white man. They could commonly inherit, hold, and transmit property, and industrious, well trained, and

circumspect persons were usually unmolested. They were all, however, perpetually insecure, hedged about with restrictions, and under the necessity of "keeping in their place." For the South, at least, the statement was not far wrong that described the free Negro as "half a man." [4]

3. *The Negro in the North*

On the whole the North did not have much more use for the free Negro than did the South, though he encountered fewer legal restrictions outside the slave states and was more likely to be able to live there undisturbed. In general the North was tolerant of the Negro as long as he was somewhere else. This fact was brought out sharply as the Southern states increased their restrictions and the free Negroes in consequence pushed into the North and East. Between the years of 1807 and 1838 New Jersey, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania took away the suffrage from free Negroes, and New York required an abnormally high property qualification from them. As early as 1803 Ohio began to build up a black code requiring a bond of five hundred dollars for each free Negro entering the state and denying him the right to testify against a white man. Similar provisions were made in Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa.

The free schools in the North were often closed to Negroes and the separate schools maintained for them often poorly equipped. Many professions and trades were forbidden by custom if not by law. In churches, places of amusement, and in public conveyances the Negroes were usually segregated. There were sometimes mobs and riots. Frederick Douglass admitted that in New England he found prejudice very strong and very annoying and that even the abolitionists had to struggle against it when the black men became a flesh-and-blood reality rather than a distant and

abstract cause. Douglass shrewdly remarked that "in their eagerness to show their contempt for the feeling they proved they had not entirely recovered from it." [5]

The free Negroes' position in the North is better understood when we remember that there were both sectional and personal differences in the attitude toward the slave system itself. The North was so far from being rabidly anti-slavery that during most of the slave period the abolitionist was regarded by many of his neighbors as a fanatic if not a fool. In New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, mobs broke up abolitionist meetings, set fire to buildings, and dragged the speakers through the streets. Anti-slavery speakers were hissed at Harvard, and in 1851 when Emerson spoke against the Fugitive Slave Law in the Cambridge city hall he was hooted at by young law students. Preachers and professors of theology in Eastern universities often justified slavery from the New Testament.

There were, of course, many persons who were neither pro-slavery advocates nor abolitionists. The abolitionist wanted to get rid of slavery at once, without compensation to the owners and without regard to the economic and social chaos that would result. There were numerous people who hated slavery in principle, who wished to keep it from extending beyond its existing borders, and who hoped that it might ultimately be abolished, but who, like Lincoln, saw that the question was not so simple as the abolitionist made it appear. Until 1850, at least, the majority of the people in the North were probably indifferent both to slavery and the free Negro unless the problem touched them in one way or another.

In spite of the fact that the Negro in the North had most of the duties and few of the privileges of citizenship, and though prejudice in a measure served the purpose of legal

restrictions, he did have friends and helpers not only among the abolitionists but also among the Quakers, and to an extent he was aided and encouraged by other church bodies. Moreover, he was free to claim the advantages within his reach and was thus able to make considerable progress toward education and the accumulation of property.

4. *Colonization Schemes*

Many people North and South who were opposed to slavery were honestly puzzled over the problem of what to do with the freed Negro. The South was afraid of him; the North did not want him; nowhere was he given full opportunity for initiative and self-development. In fairness it must be said that the question of manumission, not to mention that of abolition, was by no means a simple one. Even Lincoln admitted that he saw no clear way out. In many areas of the South the total Negro population outnumbered the white. To attempt to change the prevailing pattern was to threaten the stability of the whole social organization, and it was small wonder that the slave states were thrown into a panic over the distribution of abolition literature.[6]

The South resented keenly the implication that she was the creator of the slave system rather than the heir of what had been a national institution. Although many of her citizens believed slavery to be right, there were many others who defended it only because the remedies proposed seemed to them worse than the institution itself. The Northern states were not very helpful, since they had no notion of relieving the South of any of the freed Negroes. The abolitionists welcomed the freed men individually but had no solution whatever to offer to the general problem of how three or four million slaves could be absorbed into the social order as free men.

It was out of such problems that various colonization schemes arose. The motive was ostensibly that of providing a place where manumitted slaves could be sent and where free Negroes as a whole might develop their own life apart from the white man. Increasingly, however, the Negroes and their friends realized that all too often colonization was merely a means of getting free Negroes out of the way and that it had little or nothing to do with progress toward abolition or even extensive manumission.

The Northwest, the Southwest, the West Indies, and Africa were considered as possible places for a Negro colony. Finally in 1815 Paul Cuffee, a mulatto of some means, carried in his own ship some nine families to Sierra Leone. Two years later the American Society for the Colonization of the Free People of Color of the United States was formed, largely of Southern slave holders. That strip of African coast now known as Liberia was selected and the government appropriated a sum to be used in carrying there the "recaptured Africans" rescued from the ships of the American slave smugglers who still plied their trade.

A number of Southerners freed their slaves on condition that they would go to Liberia, and sometimes the owner paid their passage and made substantial gifts besides. Rumors that free Negroes were to be forcibly deported, however, aroused widespread opposition among the free colored persons. Daniel Walker, a free Negro of some education, wrote his famous "Appeal" in which he referred to the wretchedness of the Negro in consequence of slavery, of ignorance, of preachers of the religion of Jesus Christ, and of the colonization plan. In 1831 the first Annual Convention of the People of Color was held, and at its second meeting a resolution condemning the American Colonization Society

was passed unanimously, though interest was expressed in plans for colonization in Canada.[7]

While certain white men and Negroes rendered heroic and self-sacrificing service to Liberia, the colony had no chance of success. The unfavorable climate, hostile chiefs, the fact that the emigrants were collected without regard to fitness, and the lack of adequate provision of tools and other supplies, combined with the promiscuous dumping of freemen, newly freed slaves, and recaptured Africans into a region strange to all of them, made it a hopeless venture. It is something of a miracle that the colony survived at all.

5. *The Rise of the Negro Church*

The church early became the one channel through which the Negro was able to find expression and release, and the ministry became the one calling open to the man of unusual education or natural ability. As the Negroes became increasingly restless under the restrictions placed upon them by the white churches, separate Negro congregations increased. Out of these churches ultimately were developed separate denominations of Negroes. These were, of course, largely confined to the free states, as they had little access to the Negroes in the slave holding areas.

The earliest of these separate church bodies developed out of Negro Methodist congregations. In 1816 the African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, with Richard Allen as its first bishop. At the end of ten years this church had about ten thousand members, and soon thereafter sent the Reverend Scipio Bean to Haiti as a missionary. By 1848 the church had established a book concern and was issuing a weekly paper. Another group of Methodist churches founded the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church with

James Varick as its first bishop. Smaller bodies appearing about this time were the African Union Church, the Union American Methodist Episcopal Church, and in 1840 the Colored Methodist Protestant Church.

Separate Negro Baptist congregations flourished during this period but did not unite into larger bodies apart from the white churches until the Providence Baptist Association was organized in Ohio in 1836. After this a number of such associations were formed in various areas. Other separate denominations did not appear until after the Civil War.

Negro ministers early showed an enthusiasm for missionary work and a number of them served as missionaries both at home and among their people in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the West Indies. Lemuel Haynes taught a school for whites and later served under the Congregational bodies of New England as a missionary to the whites in the destitute sections of Vermont. John Chavis, another well educated freeborn colored man, served as a "riding missionary" under the direction of the Presbyterian General Assembly and later in North Carolina taught a school for white persons in which he had as pupils a future United States senator and a boy who was later to become governor of the state.

A Baptist convention sent Lott Carey and Collins Teague to Liberia, where Carey later became vice-agent of the colony. Carey was born a slave, as was Harrison Ellis of Alabama, who learned Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and otherwise so well educated himself that the Presbyterians of the state purchased his freedom and that of his family in order that he might go as a missionary to Liberia. Henry Highland Garnet, another Presbyterian, edited a newspaper, spent some time as a preacher in Jamaica, and later became president of Avery College. Alexander Crummel, a minister of the Episcopal church, took a bachelor of arts degree

in Cambridge University, England, and afterward served as a missionary and educator in Liberia and Sierra Leone. He later founded the American Negro Academy in Washington.

J. Theodore Holly attempted to take a colony of Negroes to Haiti. This venture was not a success, but he later was able to serve the Haitian people as a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. J. W. C. Pennington, a Presbyterian minister, visited Europe several times as a lecturer and while in Germany was given the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the University of Heidelberg. He later served his people in Haiti.

Many of the ministers of this period were concerned with education, the underground railroad, and the emancipation cause. W. M. Mitchell was sent to Toronto, Canada, as a missionary to the colored refugees. While in England soliciting funds for this work he wrote and published a book called *The Underground Railroad.* John B. Russwurm, a graduate of Bowdoin College, was one of the editors of *Freedom's Journal,* the first Negro newspaper in the United States, and was later governor of Liberia. Charles Bennett Ray, an educated Congregational minister, was also active in the underground railroad and for four years edited *The Colored American.* To these names should be added that of Ira Aldridge, an actor who played the rôle of Othello before enthusiastic European audiences.

Less conspicuous but not less important work was the teaching done by certain colored women of this period. Maria Becraft, with the assistance of a benevolent priest, established the first seminary for the education of colored girls and taught in it until 1831. A number of other schools were maintained by free women of color, some of whom had been educated in Catholic convents.[8]

6. The Slave Helps Himself to Freedom

We have seen that many of the harsh restrictions on both slaves and free Negroes in the South grew out of panic following real or imaginary threats of insurrection. In the early days many of these uprisings were rather blind and aimless plots or killings growing out of the turbulent captives' resistance to the new régime. In the nineteenth century, however, there were several plots that took on the nature of more or less carefully planned insurrectionary movements. Chief among these were the ones led by Gabriel Prosser (known as General Gabriel), in Richmond in 1800, Denmark Vesey in Charleston in 1822, and Nat Turner in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1831. All three of these leaders were intelligent Negroes, and their plots were carefully laid and involved large numbers of slaves and plans for wholesale killings. Vesey was a free Negro, Gabriel and Nat Turner were slaves, the latter a preacher. No one of them had been particularly mistreated, a fact which made the threat of their actions all the more ominous.

The year 1850 saw another heated debate over the extension of slavery to the West and the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law. Thousands of slaves who had escaped into the North now found themselves threatened with recapture. The law was of such nature as to encourage gangs of slave catchers who could and did kidnap free persons and send them South as runaway slaves. Moreover, any person might be required to lend his aid in capturing and returning a Negro, who was not allowed to testify in his own behalf. The law was bitterly attacked in certain sections and many persons who had been only mildly anti-slavery now turned abolitionist. It was felt that the South was no longer keeping her slavery problem at home and that the free states, in

spite of themselves, were being drawn into the slave system at one of its most revolting points.

Two years later Harriet Beecher Stowe dramatized the slave system in *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* The novel, while crudely written, had a strong emotional appeal, and three hundred thousand copies were sold the first year. It gave to slavery an air of reality; it surrounded the fugitive slave with a romantic glamor; it furnished a dramatic symbol around which righteous indignation could be crystallized.

About this same time there appeared a number of life stories written by former slaves. The abolitionists went up and down the land with these stories and pleas, exhibiting sometimes from their platforms, to arouse sympathy, a fugitive slave. Perhaps the most intelligent and capable of these fugitives was Frederick Douglass, who finally grew weary of merely telling his story, especially after the abolitionists advised him to retain more of his plantation manner and speech. He published his life story under the title *My Bondage and My Freedom,* edited and published a small paper, and continued to address audiences in this country and in England.

Some of the escaped slaves went back into the South to bring out relatives and friends. Among the most picturesque of these characters were two women, Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth. Neither woman was educated but each possessed shrewdness and a high native intelligence, combined with an astonishing degree of courage and persistence, which resulted in their rescuing numerous slaves from bondage.

As the slaves continued to come North and as the danger of capture increased, the underground railroad grew into a veritable network of stations. The "conductors" aided the fleeing slaves to Canada, for the most part, since after 1850

they were no longer safe merely by reaching the free states.

Several thousand persons are known to have served regularly as conductors or agents on this unique railway. Secrecy was necessary because the neighbors were not always sympathetic and the slave catchers were about. Passwords and signals were used, and one suspects that the dignified Quakers rather enjoyed dressing the mulatto slave as a fine gentleman or tying up his darker brother as merchandise and sending word to the next agent to look out for some "fleeces of wool" or to expect "two volumes of *The Irrepressible Conflict* bound in black." On the other hand, the financial drain of supplying food and shelter and sometimes clothing and transportation to the runaways must have been heavy and there was often real personal danger as well as sacrifice involved.

While the Quakers played an important part in the underground railroad and helped all who came their way, they usually refused to go after slaves or to encourage them to run away. The abolitionists, however, had no such scruples. Most of them had never been in the South and dared not go, but they delivered inflammatory addresses which were reported in the newspapers, they published tracts and papers which often reached the South, and they definitely aided and encouraged the slaves to run away. Although, as one writer has expressed it, "the abolitionists were not all lambs and not all reasonable," they probably were not all consciously fostering insurrections, as the South believed. Still William Lloyd Garrison, their most widely known leader, publicly burned a copy of the Constitution which he called "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." And John Brown, conceiving the slave holders the enemies of God and himself a sort of divinely appointed Gideon, planned the slave insurrection in which unsuspecting people

were murdered at Harpers Ferry in Virginia. Following his trial and execution he became a hero and a martyr to the cause. It was perhaps not surprising that Southern post-offices refused to deliver abolitionist literature and that rewards were offered for Garrison's head.[9]

7. *Setting the Stage for Conflict*

As the years went by the sectional differences of North and South became crystallized around sharply differing symbols to which there was a high degree of emotional attachment. The abolitionist pictured the slave holder as a fiend in human form. The slave holder, knowing himself to be a decent and not unkindly soul, viewed the abolitionist as evil incarnate. Characteristically, to the abolitionist the slave holder symbolized the South; to the slave holder the abolitionist was the North. Each side believed that it was supported by religion and truth. While the abolitionist appealed to a higher law, Southern ministers and college professors lent their aid to prove that the Negroes were inferior beings fit only for slavery and ordained of God to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white man.

A Sociology for the South appeared and Josiah Priest wrote a lengthy volume called *A Bible Defense of Slavery* in which he referred to the Negroes' "native imbecility of intellect" and almost espoused a pseudo-evolutionary theory in his repeated reference to the Negroes' likeness to the apes. He accounted for three races of men by three separate miracles through which Noah's wife gave birth to Shem, a white child, Japheth, a red child, and Ham, a child black in body, dull in mind, and evil in character. The great thickness and hardness of the Negro's skull, said Priest, was a kindly act of Providence in their favor as a defense against the blows of angry masters, it being almost impossible to

break their skulls even with a club. As a final touch he admonished those who took slaves to do it with reverence (they were cooperating with God's plan for the Negro), for it was not sinful to enslave the race, provided it was done in a "tender, fatherly and thoughtful manner." [10]

In the meantime the abolitionists were pouring forth a steady stream of bitter invective and denunciation. It were better, they thought, that the Union should be divided than that they should be bound in the same government with slave holders, though just how such a separation would aid the slave does not appear.

And so the pattern of bitterness and hate was wrought. Like small boys calling each other names over back fences, the two groups hurled accusations and insinuations back and forth. Blind to the deep underlying political, social, and economic differences and the long chain of history, men saw only the symbols around which their emotions gathered. Only a spark was needed to set such heated tinder into flame.[11]

Chapter Six

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

1. *The Coming of War*

EVEN his legal freedom was handed to the Negro by way of the back door. Both emancipation and the subsequent enfranchisement of the freedmen were emergency measures, the first considered necessary for the winning of the war, the second a political weapon for keeping the defeated South in subjection. To suppose that the Union armies as a whole or the Northern states as a unit were fighting primarily to free the slave is to cherish a romantic illusion. There were, of course, many individuals who saw the war as a blow to slavery, and the freedom of the slave furnished a convenient symbol around which idealism increasingly could be centered. The war, however, was "an economic dispute and a political test of strength" that only gradually and partially took on the aspect of a moral crusade. The agitation of the abolitionists had done much to create a sentiment against the slave system. It had also done much to intensify the bitterness and hatred between the two sections of the country.

To separate and explain in their relationships all the various elements in the highly tangled situation of 1860 is beyond both the scope of this book and the ability of the author. The important point to remember is that the situation was infinitely complex, with the Negro figuring in it primarily because he was an essential and highly significant factor in

the social and economic system of one of the two contending parties. This fact becomes more apparent when one remembers that neither the North nor the South had a consistent record regarding states' rights, secession, or slavery. Northern states were divided at the outbreak of the war and the South was not the "solid South" until the war and the Reconstruction period. New England abolitionists had repeatedly advocated secession as a means of ridding themselves of association with slave holders, and various Northern states had threatened nullification or secession at different periods extending almost to the opening of the war itself. There were, on the other hand, many strong Union men in the South, and both slave holders and non-slave holders fought in each army.

Lincoln's election on a platform of liberty for the territories, free homesteads for farmers, a protective tariff, and a Pacific railway was a threat to slavery only as it threatened the economic and political power of the planting aristocracy of the South. To the slave states, however, the election was the triumph of abolitionism and therefore a signal for cutting loose from the dominion of Northern capitalists by withdrawing from the Union. South Carolina led the way by declaring her independence and calling on her neighbors to follow her example. Before Lincoln was inaugurated, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas had joined her, and in February, 1861, they met to formulate a plan of confederacy.

The most striking evidence that to the North the moral issue of slavery was not paramount lay in Lincoln's assurance that he was prepared to give any reasonable guarantee to the slave owners against interference with their peculiar institution as it stood. As evidence of the good faith of that assurance there was carried through Congress an amend-

ment to the Constitution declaring that for all the future the federal government should be denied the power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any state. Three states had actually ratified this amendment when the outbreak of physical combat ended this attempt at a solution. Thus it was by the irony of fate and not the deliberate choice of men that the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, when it finally came, was to abolish slavery in the United States, not to fasten it upon the continent to the end of time.[1]

The shots fired at Fort Sumter had the inevitable effect of drawing sections together and crystallizing sentiment. Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas went into the Confederacy. The border states hung in the balance. The appeal to the Middle West was to save the Union, and an attack on slavery was specifically repudiated. In the end four slave states remained in the Union. In August, 1862, in response to a growing demand for emancipation Lincoln replied: "My paramount object in the struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps save the Union. . . ." [2]

The Proclamation of Emancipation was drafted in the same summer. Following the bloody battle of Antietam the document went forth announcing that unless the rebellious states returned to the Union by the first of the following January all the slaves in every place under arms against the federal government would be given their liberty. The Proclamation was duly issued in January but of course not all

slaves were affected. Not until December, 1865, when the amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery throughout the land was finally ratified, could four million people be sure that their status was forever changed from that of things to men.

Legally the Negro was free, but his freedom had not been given him for his own sake. It had been won in part at least by men who had marched to war to the ditty:

> To the flag we are pledged, all its foes we abhor,
> And we ain't for the nigger, but we are for the war.[3]

The significance of that fact cannot be overestimated. Only a few had really seen "the glory of the coming of the Lord." Had emancipation come as the result of a deep and fundamental sense of human justice on the part of a majority of the people, North or South, the whole future of the Negro might have lain along different ways.

2. *The Negro Fights for Freedom*

It is sometimes said that the Negro was a wholly passive factor in the elimination of the slave system and that he was given his freedom with no effort on his part. It is true that there was no concerted slave rebellion, that the slave aided the Confederacy in various ways, that he often accompanied his master to war and sometimes went with him into the battle itself, that he helped feed the Southern armies by his faithful labor on the plantations, and that the helpless women and children in the South were safe in his hands.

To some persons these facts have meant that the Negro was a loyal, faithful soul, contented and happy in his servitude, conscious that the Southern white people were his best friends. Others have accused him of being a servile, cowardly creature without the courage or the passion for

freedom that would lead him to fight for it. Still others have pointed to a religious motivation and restraint. In any case the interpretation has usually implied docility, meekness, and servility as racial characteristics. An examination of the circumstances leads rather to the conclusion that the slaves acted much as might be expected of any group under like conditions and with a similar background.

That the Negro did not resort to fire, rapine, and murder is to his everlasting credit. He was not a savage brute, nor was he for the most part groaning under the heel of a ruthless oppressor. He was often, if not usually, bound by ties of association, affection, and loyalty to the white people with whom he lived. While the accommodation of the Negro to his slave status was an indictment of slavery as a system, his loyalty to his master was a credit to the decency of individual relationships within the system. The whole situation is no more incomprehensible than the fact that there could be respect, affection, and loyalty on the part of wife and children in a patriarchal family where the father's word was law and the other members of the household had only such rights as were granted them by their lord and master.

Nor did this loyalty interfere with the slave's desire to be free. In many respects the slave was wiser in his generation than were his abolitionist friends. He could, and often did, love and respect the sinner while hating the sin. This loyalty and affection in combination with the desire for freedom is illustrated in the incident of the slave who, during the war, asked his mistress to sell him to an unscrupulous man in the neighborhood. "But I thought you hated that man," was the answer.

"So I do," said the slave, "and that's why I want you to sell me to him. None of you will own us very long; we'll

soon be free. If you sell me now it will protect you from loss and he's so mean I'd like to have him lose me." [4]

In addition to the loyalty and attachment of the slave to his master and the personal qualities of character that restrained him, there were other factors. It must be remembered that there was at first no guarantee of freedom if the Union armies won. Moreover, the slave had been pretty generally shielded from outside ideas. He was likely to hear and know and think in much the same way as the white world about him. Nine out of ten slaves could not read and most of them were on isolated plantations or off the main lines of warfare. They had long been used to obedience and direction; they had had little opportunity to develop independence or initiative, and they were accustomed to responding to an implied trust.[5]

As the Union armies advanced, disorganization of the slave system followed and the idea of freedom spread. Many plantations were abandoned and on others the slaves were left without adequate oversight or direction. In some cases they gleefully attached themselves to the approaching Union army as a crowd follows noise and excitement. There were those who went purposefully to meet freedom. In many cases the slaves hid the family silver and other valuables, continued their work, and protected the master's family. These perfectly human reactions varied with personal disposition, the quality of the relationship with the master, and the particular hopes held out by the presence of the Union soldiers.

At first runaway slaves were sent back by the Union armies; later they were made contraband of war; finally freedom was offered; in the end they were invited to enlist, and thousands of them did so. It should be remembered that at the opening of the war there were about half a million

free Negroes. Many of these were free-born persons but thousands had either run away or had bought their freedom by their own efforts. The part which these Negroes played in the slow undermining of slavery has been recounted in a previous chapter. At first neither army was willing to use the free Negro, let alone the slaves, so the colored people had little opportunity to show whether or not they were disposed to fight in what appeared to be a white man's war.

As the predicted short war dragged on into an increasingly grim struggle, the Negro loomed in importance. The first Union black regiment was organized in South Carolina by a general in desperate straits for reinforcements which were not forthcoming. A second regiment was organized in New Orleans the same year. Five days after the Emancipation Proclamation the War Department officially authorized the recruiting of Negroes. Massachusetts promptly sent out two regiments of colored soldiers who had enlisted for three years. A thousand Negro troops were recruited in New York in two weeks, and Pennsylvania followed with five regiments. There were more than one hundred and fifty regiments designated as United States Negro troops. Slaves and free Negroes North and South served to the number of almost two hundred thousand. About seventy-five of these colored soldiers served as commissioned officers, and fourteen men received medals for heroic conduct. Something like seventy or eighty thousand lost their lives in battle.[6]

3. *The Aftermath of Battle*

It is difficult to imagine more complete social and economic chaos than that which was found in the South following the war. Practically all fighting had been on Southern soil. There had been the looting, burning, and wanton destruction which war implies. Both armies had included an

unusual number of the adventurous and the floating riffraff, due to the prevailing custom of hiring substitutes by those who had money.

Travelers in the South were astonished at the utter ruin which they found in such places as Charleston and Columbia, where unusually ruthless destruction had taken place. Over wide areas railroads were gone, public buildings were demolished, farms were overgrown with weeds, fences were down, farm machinery had disappeared, and livestock was not to be seen. Schools and colleges were often closed and many had been completely destroyed. Banks had closed. Prices soared until a barrel of flour sold for fifteen hundred dollars. Finally, Confederate money became something to paste in scrapbooks as a token of days that were past. The people were reduced to "a pitiable, primitive, almost barbaric level." [7]

There was the "sudden absence of youth." The South had lost more heavily in proportion to its population than had the North. There were no facilities for caring for the wounded or for rehabilitating those who had lost limbs or sight. Starvation confronted many families and relief organizations sent South to care for the freedmen found themselves feeding destitute whites. Perhaps most disastrous of all, morale was gone. The defeated and war-weary men found devastated lands, rain-washed fields, neglected homes, and complete financial ruin. Sidney Lanier wrote a friend, "Perhaps you know that with us of the young generation in the South, since the war pretty much of the whole of life has been merely not dying." [8]

The final factor in the situation, offering both confusion and hope, was the presence of the four million freed slaves. Even when the social and economic situation was normal the best minds of the nation had admitted themselves baffled

at the problem of absorbing so large a slave population into the social order as free men. Now they were suddenly free in the midst of the most chaotic period which it is possible to imagine. Long before freedom was officially proclaimed thousands of them had been uprooted and cast loose as "contrabands," refugees, and camp followers of the Union army. Disease was rampant, and life was completely disorganized in the midst of economic ruin, hate, bitterness and confusion. The most capable of Southern leadership was gone or broken in spirit. Six million white people bitter from defeat and four million black people newly freed from slavery stood in the midst of this ruin under the necessity of finding some way in which they could live together no longer as men with things but as men with men.

Such were the conditions when the black man for the first time stood on the brink of the new world of freedom.

4. *The Tragic Era*

It is easy to distribute blame for the "tragic era." The South was still rebellious, resentful, sullen, and determined to reenslave the Negro. The North was vindictive, revengeful, and determined to punish the South and to force a prostrate people under the rule of their former slaves. The Negroes were irresponsible and ignorant children or else ruthless savages turned loose to prey upon the helpless whites. So run the conflicting stories of the bitter years.

It is easy enough to say, "If the South had done thus and so," or "If the North had not done this or that." The sober truth is that the situation precluded reasoned thinking or rational action. The war itself would not have been possible had not men first learned to hate and mistrust each other. The Negro who had been the more or less passive center of the tragic struggle became the victim of these hates and

the greed that accompanied them. He was the tool by which the North could punish and control the South. He was the substitute object on which the defeated and helpless South could pour out its bitterness and frustration.

To suppose that these two sectional groups calmly and reasonably planned their actions in accord with conscious motives and definitely thought-out results is totally to misread history. It is much nearer the truth to assume that most of the persons involved were moved by motives and forces of which they were scarcely aware and that they unconsciously justified their conduct to themselves and others by explanations which made their acts seem right. The men and women of North and South, black and white, had been in large measure made and shaped by the social order of which they were a part. Deplorable as was much of the conduct on all sides, it was in the main the logical outcome not only of the four but the forty preceding years; indeed, it had been in the making as long as had the nation itself.

The foregoing statement is not to excuse. It is to understand that there was, following the war, no group of people equal to the task of working out a reasonable basis of social and economic life. The North could not supply such leadership because it had had to build up the attitudes of hate necessary to put down the slave holders' rebellion. The abolitionists, while genuine in their concern for the Negro, had seen only the issue of the right or wrong of slavery. They had never devised or suggested any means by which the slaves could be absorbed into the social order as free men, and they were largely unaware of the realities of the social and economic situation in the slave areas.

Three-fourths of the white South had little or no experience in large-scale political or economic affairs. The slave holding aristocracy had been the rebel leaders, and many

had been killed, the others disfranchised. Moreover, where the abolitionist had a sentimental notion of the Negro, the Southerner confused what the Negro had become in the school of slavery with his natural endowment. For the most part the whole white South honestly believed the Negro to be racially inferior and incapable of full participation in a white man's civilization. It was believed also that the Negro would never work except under compulsion but would "jingle his last month's wages in the planter's face and tell him to do the rest of the work himself." [9]

The Negroes had much more natural ability and actual trained leadership than the white South believed, but nine-tenths of them were illiterate and even the educated few had no experience in self-government. The great masses of the colored people had been kept in ignorance and trained in subordination.

The problem of adjustment was enormously increased by the fact of race. Had the four million freed slaves been of the same race and color as their former masters the problem would have been difficult enough, but the economic and political adjustment was infinitely complicated by the obvious racial differences and the fears and prejudices which were entwined with them.

A final factor in an already hopelessly tangled problem was the moral and social reaction which inevitably follows war. During the course of a conflict men believe they are doing evil that good may come, but the plunder, murder, robbery and lack of regard for the decencies of normal living inevitably take their toll. The unscrupulous continue these activities in slightly less obvious and more refined forms. Mark Twain called the aftermath of the Civil War the Gilded Age, while Vernon Louis Parrington referred to it as the Great Barbecue. Practically all historians agree

that it constituted one of the most shameful periods of our national history. Stealing and graft and an utter disregard for the normal values of life could be found in high places and hovered at the very threshold of the White House itself.

The extravagance and theft, the outrages and indecencies of Reconstruction were not to be laid at the door of any one group. They were the aftermath of years of human bondage and a great national struggle culminating in a war that had been waged undoubtedly with some idealism but with a full quota of sordidness and greed, of hate and passion.[10]

5. *Reconstruction, Black and White*

The detailed story of Reconstruction cannot be told in these pages. What might have happened had Lincoln lived we do not know. He seems to have had in mind a rapid restoration of state government in the South and a gradual enfranchisement of the Negro on the basis of educational or property qualifications. Andrew Johnson seems to have attempted unsuccessfully to carry out Lincoln's policies. Whatever the motives and aims of individuals may have been, the welfare of the Negro was soon lost sight of in the wild scramble for power, the graft and greed of the Great Barbecue, and the fight between the President and Congress.

By the end of 1865 provisional governments had been set up in most of the states, the Thirteenth Amendment had been ratified, and Congressional representatives had been chosen. These persons were refused admission by Congress and a Joint Committee on Reconstruction was selected. This meant that the harsher Congressional measures were to supersede the presidential plan. At least a part of the difficulty grew out of the differences of opinion regarding

responsibility for Reconstruction and the status of the freed slaves.

Confronted with the practical problem inherent in the presence of four million landless, helpless, inexperienced, and disorganized freedmen, the Southerners proceeded to work out codes based on the only system that they knew—namely, a system of economic and social control arising out of the plantation pattern. There seems reason to believe that for the most part the Southern planter accepted the end of chattel slavery in good faith. It seems equally clear that most of the South could not conceive of the Negro in other than a permanently subordinate and inferior position under the control of the white man. To the white Southerner the black codes were a necessary means of maintaining order. They were the sort of laws which might have been expected from persons who had never known the Negro except as a slave.

To the North these codes appeared as deliberate efforts to reduce the Negro again to slavery. Neither the President nor the Southerners seeking seats in Congress acted wisely regarding the Civil Rights Bill, which was passed over the President's veto. Nor were the Southerners fair in expecting to count the large numbers of freedmen in their representation without some assurance that they would be ultimately given the franchise. The Fourteenth Amendment was the answer and it was promptly rejected by the Southern states.

In the military rule which followed, most of the better class of white Southerners were disfranchised, while the ballot was given without restriction to the former slaves. Thus was begun the "Negro-carpetbag-scalawag" government of the South, the bitterness of which extends to the present day. The Southern whites were resentful of the fact that many Northern states with a small minority of

literate free Negroes were still persistently refusing the suffrage to the black man. Yet they, with an illiterate Negro population approximating and sometimes exceeding that of the whites, were to be put under the rule of their former slaves. In five of the states the majority of the electorate were Negroes. In the others the white majorities were heavily filled with incompetents and self-seeking outsiders.[11]

Along with some perfectly respectable persons on decent business a horde of adventurers poured South to grab their share of the spoils, and all were classed together as "carpetbaggers," subject to Southern scorn. White Southerners who joined in the scramble were, along with a few honest men, classed together as "scalawags." These, with former slaves and a few free Negroes, took over local and state governments and filled legislative halls. Corruption, graft, and debauchery were rampant. These manifestations, however, were only partially local in nature; in large measure they were a part of the Great Barbecue. They were a little less refined but they differed from what was taking place in cities like New York and the nation's capital itself chiefly in the presence of the black men and the fact that the better class of white people were disfranchised and thus at the mercy of renegades from North and South.[12]

Many of the Negro legislators were ignorant, uncouth men just out of slavery. Some of them were not. Considering their lack of training and the circumstances under which the new duties and privileges were thrust upon them, it is not surprising that they were too readily the tools of the unscrupulous white men then in power. Men who could not read, who had never been permitted to own anything in their lives, and who had never had opportunity for self-direction were suddenly placed in legislative halls. If they "walked all over God's heaven" in their new shoes, or

bought golden spittoons for themselves, it was perhaps the natural reaction under the circumstances. And a man whose body had been sold as property should not be too severely blamed for selling his vote.

Black Reconstruction was, however, not all so dark as it has been painted. Even among the most ignorant men there were those who were desperately in earnest and who showed a decent regard for the seriousness of the situation. There seems to have been little in the way of a vindictive spirit or a desire to take revenge on the white people, though there was naturally a great deal of arrogance over the sudden reversal of position. Underneath it all there was a passionate concern for educational privileges and political rights.

A number of the black legislators were well educated and capable free men and are so recognized by some Southern white historians. Among these were such men as Hiram Revels of Mississippi, who occupied in the United States Senate the seat formerly held by Jefferson Davis. B. K. Bruce from the same state likewise seems to have served creditably in the Senate, while J. C. Gibbs, a Dartmouth graduate, served as Secretary of State for Florida and later gave a good administration as state superintendent of schools. All told, sixteen Negroes served in the federal Congress during the Reconstruction years. Twelve of these men had been slaves or were born of slave parents; the other four had received a more or less complete college education in the North or abroad.

While the pre-war South had made more progress toward a general school system than is generally supposed, the Reconstruction legislatures made their outstanding contribution at this point. Moreover they opened the ballot to many white men who previously had been debarred by property

qualifications. They extended local home rule in Southern states, and abolished the whipping post, branding irons, and stocks. The constitutions they adopted were, on the whole, sufficiently useful and well planned to continue in use long after the white Southerners were restored to power.[13]

6. *A White Man's Country*

It was inevitable that the Southern whites should regain control of the machinery of government and that in so doing they should seek to put the Negro into a place of subordination. Military occupation had brought resentment. The presence of the carpetbagger and the scalawag, the humiliation of being under the rule of their former slaves, the extravagant spending and graft of the legislatures, along with a thousand indignities, served to create a bitter determination to get things into their hands again.

The Freedmen's Bureau, useful and necessary in some of its functions, became a political tool which fostered further hatred and distrust between two groups of people who were going to have to live together the rest of their lives. Organizations like the Union League, the colored regiments, the voting and office holding on the part of the illiterate and ignorant, even the well intentioned and otherwise useful presence of the New England schoolma'am and the missionary from the North served further to alienate and separate the two races.

The black man had been made the tool of the exploiters; he was in turn the victim of the accumulating hate and resentment of the Southern whites. Deprived of the ordinary channels of self-government they turned to any means that came to hand to rid themselves of outside control and to reduce the black population to subordination. Organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Camellias

were first used merely to frighten into submission the superstitious and ignorant. Later, as is always the case when such methods are employed, the disguise became the cover for brutal outrages in the form of beatings, lynchings and riots.

However grave the injustice to the white people of suddenly putting "the bottom rail on top," it is the Negro who has paid most bitterly for black Reconstruction. Some gains for him came out of it, to be sure, but along with these gains came complete estrangement from the men who should have been his friends, and the assumption on the part of the white world that the belief in his unfitness to vote and hold office had been fully confirmed. He was, of course, never given a chance to become a normal part of the social and political order.

By 1877 most of the South, along with the rest of the nation, was again a "white man's country." The Negro realized that he had not been given freedom and that it would not come as the gift of God or of men. He had only been given the right to struggle for it, and that against double odds. Some Negroes—and who shall blame them?—settled down to an easy or resentful acceptance of poverty, discrimination and inferiority. Others resolutely faced forward to begin the "slow struggling up the hills of hell."

Chapter Seven

THE STRUGGLE UPWARD

1. *The Shock of Freedom*

THERE is no way by which this generation, black or white, can understand what freedom meant to the four million slaves who set their faces toward a new world. It was not that the slave had always been unkindly treated and unhappy, or even that he was constantly thinking of how he could get free. Only the most aggressive and least adjusted had any notion of breaking their own bonds in a world where slavery was considered the normal lot of black folk. The most of them looked on freedom as something passionately desired but far away, something miraculous, to be piously hoped for but scarcely expected—a sort of New Jerusalem.

To thousands of the slaves freedom came in the wake of the Union armies with all the privation, suffering and disorganization that war involved. To the great masses the good news came at the close of the war and was met with a burst of religious and hysterical fervor. It was "the coming of the Lord." "For the first time in their lives they could travel; they could see; they could change the dead level of their labor; . . . They could hunt in the swamps and fish in the rivers. . . . They need not fear the patrol. . . . Some of them for the first time in their lives saw Town; some left the plantation and walked out into the world; some handled actual money. . . ." [1]

Booker T. Washington describes the wild joy on his master's plantation and then the reaction of fear and even of sadness on the part of the older people before whom arose the spectre of uncertainty and insecurity. Parents who had passionately wanted their children to be free now suddenly realized that freedom meant responsibility for food and clothing and shelter. A number of former slaves, perhaps most of whom had lived on the better plantations, sooner or later went back to the old master for advice or for work on a new basis.[2]

Many freedmen who had all their lives belonged to the same master proudly kept the name of their "white folks." Others with no such ties or wishing to assert independence took surnames of their own choosing. Slave marriages had never been legal, and, where ties were not strong, women and children were left to look out for themselves while the men walked off to try out freedom and make new alliances. Other couples had their marriages legalized, and husbands and wives who had belonged to different masters now got together with their children. The slaves, of course, had been of all types, and now, in their freedom, they met the new life in all sorts of ways.

Many of the freedmen took a long holiday. Others went back to the old plantations to begin a new sort of slavery as sharecroppers. Large numbers managed to acquire small pieces of land of their own. The skilled workers found jobs. Some of the more aggressive found their way to the North and West, but few communities wanted Negro immigrants and the opposition of labor organizations made it difficult to get work. A few went to Liberia or the West Indies. Most of them settled down where they were as unskilled laborers, and a semblance of order finally came to the land.

2. *The Church Takes a Hand*

Long before the close of the war, Union army officers and chaplains had become teachers for "contrabands" and refugees, and almost the whole of some black regiments had learned to read. In spite of ugly spots in its record and the great bitterness which it caused, the Freedmen's Bureau had rendered a necessary and valuable service. It had settled thousands of freedmen on little plots of their own, it had dispensed rations to the starving, and through its medical and sanitary service the alarming death rate of the war period dropped. A superintendent of schools for each state was selected and by 1870 two hundred and fifty thousand persons were enrolled in night schools, day schools, Sunday schools, industrial schools and colleges set up under its influence or supervision.

According to one writer, the freedmen "lurched into the new day" with "a desire for land and a frenzy for schools." Disappointed in the promise of "forty acres and a mule" and disillusioned by the loss of their savings in the Freedman's Bank, they more than ever turned to education as the magic key that would unlock all doors. Old and young, clever and stupid crowded with pathetic eagerness and faith into the makeshift schools. Hopeful youth who could scarcely read walked half the length of the state to present themselves, empty handed, at the door of some so-called college. Old persons who could not read a line made proud and sacrificial contributions toward the expenses of ambitious younger ones.

Schools hopefully called institutes, colleges and even universities were started and carried on against overwhelming odds. Booker T. Washington, after much personal privation in securing his own training, began his work at Tuskegee

Institute in Alabama with nothing but a crowd of eager students, a church, and an abandoned cabin. A small grant from the state legislature helped in its establishment. When boarding pupils were first taken there was no furniture, almost no dishes, and not always food. Students shivered under inadequate covering or sat up the coldest nights huddled around an open fire.

Catholics, Quakers, and practically every Protestant denomination opened schools of one sort or another. To the denominational efforts were added the aid of foundations such as the Peabody Board and the Slater Fund, and state legislatures made appropriations. Some of the leading schools for Negroes in the country today were begun in this early period. Fisk University, later to be made world famous by its Jubilee Singers, opened its doors in Nashville almost before the soldiers moved on. Howard University was opened in Washington in an abandoned dance hall and saloon under the combined efforts of religious leaders and the Freedmen's Bureau. Hampton Institute in Virginia took its place as the model for industrial training and the preparation of teachers for the whole South. Closely patterned after Hampton was Tuskegee Institute, which has been previously mentioned. Atlanta University and Spelman Seminary for Girls were opened in the early eighties.

During the first years most of the teaching was done by men and women from the North who represented various church bodies. Sometimes these persons were ostracized by the local community partly because they were teaching Negroes and partly because they were "Yankees," who sometimes treated the Southern whites as though they were as much in need of missionary efforts as the freedmen.

Sometimes these teachers were disillusioned when the "mental and moral intoxication" wore off and their pupils

proved to be ordinary run-of-the-mill human beings who often wanted to begin with Latin and Greek before they could read English and who sometimes became arrogant with their little learning. The schools were usually based on Northern systems and were sometimes ill adapted to the newly freed slaves, but in spite of difficulties, mistakes, and handicaps, most of the teachers and pupils were earnest and enthusiastic, and astonishing progress was made. There are scattered throughout the South today dozens of schools which were opened by the churches during this period, and out of which, for two generations, there came in large measure the leadership of the Negro group.[3]

3. *A Race Goes to School*

It was impossible, of course, to provide for the education of the children of four million people by soliciting private contributions, and it was recognized that any sort of decent opportunity for the Negro must rest on an adequate system of public schools. The Reconstruction legislatures had made a theoretical provision for schools for both white and colored children, but getting these theories into practice involved a great deal more than the white South's willingness or unwillingness to see the Negro educated. The states even in normal times could not have coped with such a sudden increase in school population, and it was obvious that the national government should aid in bringing the mass of freedmen to at least a degree of literacy. But war and Reconstruction had left too much of confusion for such a policy to prevail, and after the dissolution of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1870 the task was left to the states and to the voluntary aid of the churches and the foundations.

The question of mixed schools was debated in all the Reconstruction legislatures and the resulting laws varied.

The white South was emphatic in its opposition. Certain of the Negro leaders insisted on mixed schools but many others felt that in view of the existing racial tension and the condition of the masses of the freedmen such schools would be neither possible nor desirable. Fairly early the separate schools were accepted as inevitable under the circumstances.

Added to this necessity for a dual school system were other difficulties. The Southern planter had educated his children privately; the public school scarcely existed outside the towns; the masses of the poor whites were as illiterate as the former slaves. During the wreckage of war and Reconstruction, schools and colleges had closed, buildings had been destroyed, state school funds had disappeared, state treasuries were not only empty but hopelessly in debt, and a generation of even the upper class whites had largely missed its education. There was, in addition, a strong belief in the South that education was the responsibility of individual parents and that the people as a whole should not be taxed for schools.

Without buildings, funds, or teachers, and with no ongoing organization or system, it is easily seen that even apart from the presence of the freedmen the states would have had a staggering educational task on their hands. When over a million children were added to the school population, with no appreciable increase in revenue, it was clear that in the South neither the black child nor the white could possibly have an equal opportunity with the rest of the nation's children, at least for a long time to come.

For various reasons the black child got the little end of even this meager opportunity. The white people, once they were in control again, were primarily concerned with the education of their own children, which for some of them required "sacrifices almost incomprehensible." White com-

munities were more vocal and better able to make provisions for schools. The majority of Negroes were in the rural areas where even white schools were poor or nonexistent. In spite of the passion for education on the part of many Negroes, others were indifferent. Both poor white and colored children were kept at home to help gather the crops, to put out the washing, or to mind the baby. It was difficult to secure Negro teachers, and many who taught were utterly incompetent.

In spite of the difficulties almost every city of twenty thousand or more had by 1890 established graded schools for both races. In the country areas, common schools of a sort had been set up. Thousands of Negroes born in slavery were now teaching their own people. Although many white people disapproved and there had been burning of schoolhouses, others lent their aid. The largest public school for colored children in South Carolina had over a thousand pupils and was taught by Southern-born white women, as were similar schools in Baltimore, Richmond, and New Orleans.

From 1874 to 1890 the sixteen Southern states had nearly doubled their common school enrolment of whites and had almost trebled that of the colored people. State teachers' institutes were being held for both races, and every state had either established or laid plans for normal schools for both groups. There were at the end of the period twenty-five thousand colored teachers at work and more than a million colored children in school. Colored people themselves were paying thousands of dollars in tuition and of course as they began to accumulate property they paid taxes. In the closing decade of the century the South itself spent two hundred and sixteen million dollars on its schools, fifty millions of which were used for "the first experiment

in human history in the universal education of five million [emancipated] slaves. . . ."[4]

4. *The Heritage of Slavery*

Slowly the Negro began to pull himself up. His handicaps were great, for the heritage of slavery was strong upon him. When Booker T. Washington went to Hampton to school he did not know what to do with the sheets on his bed. Years later many of the students who came to him at Tuskegee found themselves in the same predicament. They came from one-room cabins where they had never slept on a bed, never sat at table for meals, and had no notion of the uses of dishes or silver. Toothbrushes were a mystery, and habits of personal cleanliness had seldom been developed in the rude days of slavery. The povery of many was appalling.

Slavery had left its imprint in more devastating ways. Initiative, independence and foresight were the last qualities of which a slave had need. Now that he was left without the accustomed direction of the white man he too often showed up as careless, inefficient, and lazy. When he got money he often spent it promptly and, as often, foolishly. Mr. Washington in his visits through the South found clocks and watches that would not run, organs that nobody could play, sewing machines that nobody knew how to use, and these in one- and two-room cabins in which there were not dishes enough to set a table or other of the simplest necessities of ordinary living.

Never having been permitted to own property as slaves, many Negroes brought into freedom rather hazy ideas of "mine and thine." The habit of feeding one's family from the master's kitchen or of foraging for food on the plantation was carried over, and the notion that all Negroes

would "take things" grew into an accepted tradition that is still played up in stories of the Negro in the chicken house and the watermelon patch.

Other habits persisted from the time when the slave's day was closely supervised and it was to his interest to tell white men only the things that pleased them or that it was good for them to know. The exceptions to these habits as well as their origin were generally overlooked, and many white folks agreed that you never could depend on a Negro's word or be sure when he was telling the truth. Final damaging charges were that the Negroes changed partners without the formality of divorce or remarriage; that no colored woman was chaste; and that Negro men felt no sense of obligation to or responsibility for their wives and children.

Some of the charges were true of many Negroes, and all were true of some Negroes. Many of the habits had been directly fostered by the slave and plantation system. In some measure they were the faults to be found among any people who are poor, ignorant, and untrained. Almost every white family knew some Negro family that could be trusted, and there were, of course, a large number of honest, decent, respectable, and industrious colored persons with whom the white people had no contact at all. Still the tradition grew that the frailties of the masses were racial characteristics, and thus the whole group was made to carry the stigma of its poorest and weakest members.

The "school of slavery" story that the Negro learned in slavery regular work, the English language, and the Christian religion has been heavily overdone. What he learned was to look down on work, and he got a rather distorted notion of the Christian religion from what he both heard and saw. Still there were some gains. In addition to the free

Negroes, many of whom could read and some of whom were well educated, there were a number of literate slaves. There were the many skilled workmen who almost monopolized the mechanical trades in the South at the close of the war and for nearly two decades afterwards. The Negroes were the leading builders in many communities and there were many small farmers and business men who had received their training on the plantations. The women who had been field hands were handicapped as servants and as housekeepers in their own homes, but those who had been trained as house servants had at least a fair start in the new life.[5]

5. *The Negro Takes Stock*

The last decade of the nineteenth century was a curious mosaic insofar as Negro life was concerned. During this period the Negro lost the franchise in one state after another throughout the South. In this respect he definitely lost ground, since in most cases those with education and ability were as definitely excluded as were the illiterate masses. Yet during this same period at least one Southern Negro, born a slave, rose to national and then to international prominence and was permitted in all sorts of ways to violate the accepted racial code.

Booker T. Washington knew all too well the low social and economic level on which the Negro masses lived. He knew also that these millions of black folk stood very little chance of rising to higher levels without the aid and good will of the better class of white people. He had, as one writer has expressed it, "an obsession about toothbrushes." [6] He had also an obsession about baths, sheets, clean clothes, buttons, regular meals, paint and whitewash, brooms and dust cloths, and a lot of other things that meant discipline and hard work for an emerging race. He expected by lift-

ing the masses of Negroes to more decent and responsible ways of living to compel the respect and good will of the white men, who would then give their colored brothers a fair chance in the national life.

In a most unusual degree this man became the acknowledged leader of his own race and at the same time held the admiration and good will of both Northern and Southern white people. His basic philosophy was summed up in an address delivered before an International Exposition held in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1895. It was considered something of a triumph that within twenty-five years after the end of "carpetbag" rule in Georgia a former slave should be invited to speak on the opening day of such a convention. Mr. Washington was keenly conscious of all that was involved in the occasion, and his address was hailed as a masterpiece. He spoke with the vast Negro masses in mind and made a plea for a sort of working compromise by which the Negro would be given industrial and educational opportunities in return for which he would be careful not to ask for those privileges which it was all too evident a white world was not ready to grant.[7]

Just a year after the Atlanta Exposition there met in the same city another group of people whose activities throw into sharp relief another side of the changing pattern of Negro life as the century neared its close. This was the first of a series of yearly conferences of Negro leaders held at Atlanta University under the guidance of a young Negro sociologist, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. It represented the first serious attempt of Negro leaders to make an objective study of the condition of the race throughout the country.

Negroes seemed to be making serious efforts toward their own social betterment through their churches, secret societies, benevolent organizations, and cooperative enterprises

of various types. As they were excluded from most of the activities in the larger world they found in these organizations an opportunity for group life and an outlet for emerging leadership. Their twenty-three thousand churches carried on a wide range of activities in the nature of social and community welfare. Cooperative enterprises included community associations, workingmen's building and loan associations, cooperative stores, and half a dozen banks all organized, owned, and operated by Negroes.

More than half of the Negroes employed were engaged in agriculture (with which were included fishing and mining), and almost a third were in domestic or personal service. There were almost a hundred schools giving industrial training for Negroes. These were not, as white people often hoped, turning out trained domestic servants, but they were sending forth young people who would help raise the standard of living for the whole Negro group. There were fewer than thirty-five thousand Negroes in the professions.

The educational picture was encouraging from the standpoint of progress made, discouraging in terms of the amount that still needed to be done. The census of 1890 showed twenty-five thousand colored teachers in whose hands almost the whole of Negro education in public schools rested. Many of these teachers were untrained. By the turn of the century there were a million and a half colored children in public schools, yet these were only a third of those of school age and most of the school terms lasted only a few months. There were scarcely more than twenty-five hundred living college graduates among Negroes and fewer than a thousand then doing college work. There were many colleges, normals, institutes and universities enrolling about twenty-five thousand students, but most of these pupils were doing elementary or secondary school work that should have been

done in the public schools, and few were doing work above high school level.[8]

6. *The "Talented Tenth"*

The great upheaval of war and the complete reordering of the social and economic system in sixteen states had focussed the attention of the nation on the South as the center of Negro life and on the freedman as the symbol of the race. The little band of free persons in the North and East who had been the spokesmen of their people were more or less lost sight of during this period. In a sense they, as well as the freedmen in the South, and indeed the nation as a whole, needed a little time to recover from "the shock of freedom" and to realize that emancipation was only the beginning and not the end of their strivings. Yet these years were not unfruitful. While the masses in the South were learning about baths and toothbrushes the "talented tenth," or more properly the "privileged tenth," were laying some broad foundations for the race.

Significant among the developments of the period was that of the Negro church. The African Methodists, the African Zion Methodists, and a few smaller bodies had made significant progress even in the ante-bellum period. Following the war there were added the Colored Methodists who, by common consent, separated from the Southern Methodists, the Colored Cumberland Presbyterians, and the African Union Methodist Protestants. In 1895 the various colored Baptists were organized into a National Baptist Convention in which were included more than sixteen thousand churches already set up in forty-three state conventions.

These various colored churches had a combined membership of more than three and a half million. They main-

tained schools and owned publishing houses where they produced Sunday school literature and issued monthly or weekly papers. They raised creditable sums for missions and maintained missionaries among Negro peoples in Africa, the West Indies, and South America. While among the masses much of the worship was crude and highly emotional and all too many ministers were called to preach because "the grass was high in the cotton and the sun was hot," there were churches of an entirely different order and among their leaders were many men of high moral character, intellectual training and statesmanlike ability.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, the Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians still kept certain Negro congregations in their ranks but these totaled less than three hundred thousand members. It was definitely a period when the Negro found in the separate colored church his one great opportunity to be himself and to exercise his growing powers of leadership without the hampering presence and supervision of the white man.

During these years the Negro Academy was set up with a membership limited to fifty teachers and professional men who planned to publish such occasional papers as would help Negro growth and development and vindicate the race against vicious attack. The National Association of Colored Women was organized for the purpose of elevating Negro womanhood. Just at the turn of the century the National Negro Business League was organized in Boston, with representatives from thirty different states.[9]

In New York Bert Williams and George Walker were already known in the musical and theatrical world, and the Cole and Johnson Brothers team was soon to become famous. Harry Burleigh was writing popular music, setting down musical arrangements of spirituals, and serving as

soloist in the choir of St. George's Episcopal Church. Paul Laurence Dunbar was writing his *Lyrics of Lowly Life;* Charles Waddell Chesnutt was practising law while he wrote such fiction as *The Conjure Woman* and *The House Behind the Cedars;* and George W. Williams wrote his *History of the Negro Race in America.* "The Raising of Lazarus," painted by Henry O. Tanner, was bought by the French government to be hung in the Luxembourg Gallery. There were more than fifty newspapers or other periodicals being published by Negroes in twenty-three states.

It must be remembered that throughout this period, North and South, quite out of the path of most white people, there were an increasing number of substantial middle-class Negro homes with pianos and marble-topped center tables holding photograph albums and family Bibles, the families taking Sunday walks in the woods and spending winter evenings with books around an open fire. In such homes were growing up men and women who have lived to add richness and distinction not only to their race but to American life as a whole.[10]

Chapter Eight

FACING THE COLOR LINE

1. *A Drama in Race Relations*

IN the year 1900, Booker T. Washington wrote the story of his life and called it *Up from Slavery*. Shortly afterward W. E. Burghardt Du Bois published *The Souls of Black Folk*. Each book has become an American classic and each deserves a permanent place in the annals of American life. The two volumes represent more, however, than the stories of two men of different backgrounds and somewhat different ideas as to the best way to reach ultimate goals. One man looked back to a slave cabin and to the dark masses of his people and wonderingly said to the world, "See how far we have come." The other man, looking at the "talented tenth" of his people and at the barriers laid across their path, said with passionate conviction, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea." [1]

Perhaps very few people took the words of Dr. Du Bois seriously, for at that time the Western world still complacently accepted the notion that "only Anglo-Saxons can govern themselves." Everybody not a white man was a "white man's burden," a nuisance if close at hand, perhaps a "little brown brother" if far enough away for distance to lend enchantment. Since the "burdens" were, according to Mr. Kipling, "half devil and half child," nobody bothered

to consult them regarding their preference in the matter.

It was a day when, with perfect seriousness, a senator could demand that the United States annex the Philippines on the basis that we were "trustees under God, of the civilization of the world. . . . His chosen nation . . . to administer government among savage and senile peoples." [2] Apparently nobody saw anything strange about this speech although, North and South, in the preceding decade more than a thousand of the brown brothers within our own borders had been lynched. At the same time the stronger European nations were taking over the colored peoples of Asia and Africa. As far as the white world was concerned, the color line was neither an open question nor a problem. The line was already drawn and it was definitely a horizontal one, with the "burden" on the bottom.

In the meantime, other things besides lynchings had been happening at home. The mission schools for colored people were bearing fruit, and the leaders among Northern Negroes were reasserting themselves. Educated colored people were now asking why they should be shut off by the barrier of color from the free exercise of rights and privileges which other persons of their intellectual, social, and economic attainments were permitted as a matter of course. Already more than half of the Negroes could read and write, there were nearly fifty thousand of them in the professions, and almost half a million owned their own homes.

Most of the drama of race relations was being worked out in the South, due to the simple fact that most of the Negroes lived there. The whites of the economically and socially secure class often helped to maintain colored schools and tried to make secure the Negro's life and property. Those who needed his labor exploited him; those who feared his competition tried to disfranchise him; the igno-

rant were ever ready to abuse, to terrorize, and to lynch him. The emerging leaders of the race not only fought for their own rights but became also the champions of the rights of the whole Negro group. They asked persistently and insistently that the Negro be granted at least three things: the right to vote, civic equality, and education according to ability. They recognized that the low social and economic level of the race was responsible for much of the discrimination against colored people, but they felt that prejudice was as much a cause as a result of the Negro's degradation. They insisted that the Negro could have a decent chance only when discrimination was based on condition and not on color.

There was, beyond question, cause for their deep concern. "Grandfather clauses" and other devices even less reputable were being used to eliminate the Negro voter while protecting the illiterate whites. "Jim Crow" laws had appeared which rigidly separated the races in the use of public facilities. The North apparently had lost all enthusiasm for Negro rights and was largely indifferent to the whole problem. There was a bloody race riot in New York City in which innocent and unoffending colored people were killed and some of them were beaten by police to whom they had gone for protection. Atlanta had a brief reign of terror fanned into flame by sensational newspaper stories, and other cities, North and South, showed little disposition to protect Negro life and property. Lynchings continued at an average rate of over one hundred a year.

2. *The Rise of the New Negro*

It was the World War that revealed the color line as the problem of the twentieth century not only for America but for the world. The first effects of the war, however,

were felt in an entirely familiar way: the Negro became important because his labor was needed.

When war was declared in Europe the steady stream of immigrants to this country ceased and many of those already here returned home to render military service. With this foreign labor supply cut off and an increased production of goods demanded by the war, industry turned to the black worker. Labor agents went south and shipped colored laborers north by carloads. From cotton fields, coal mines, steel mills, dockyards and kitchens they poured into St. Louis, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Detroit. For those of the Southwest the real mecca was Chicago; from the Southeast they went to New York and soon made Harlem the most populous and most talked of Negro area in the world.

In the South low wages, an unsatisfactory tenant and cropsharing system, the boll weevil, crop failures, lynching, disfranchisement, segregation and poor schools all gave impetus to the migration north, though there was much movement from country to city within the South. When Negroes began writing back that they were making more in a day than in a week at home, that they could go where they pleased and "don't have to humble to nobody," the wave became an hysterical mass movement. For once the Negro was being asked to the table and offered a feast when he got there. Without more ado he headed for the Promised Land. Sometimes he barely had railroad fare; sometimes the railroads carried him free; sometimes he sold everything he had or practically gave it away. Old and young, single persons and families, vagrants and steady workers jostled each other in the exodus.[3]

In New York, Harlem absorbed the incoming groups, there was relatively little friction, and Negroes ultimately acquired millions of dollars' worth of property. In other

cities the conditions were not so favorable. The housing problem became acute, schools were overcrowded, and the whole school system was upset by the influx of children who had been in the short-term rural schools of the South. White neighborhoods resisted the appearance of black families, labor difficulties arose, vice and crime increased, and many of the race problems thought to be peculiar to the South appeared in the North.

As soon as America entered the war the situation was complicated by the old question of the status of the Negro soldier. Although two hundred thousand colored men were sent to France—their full quota based on the proportion of Negroes in the total population—few of them were given opportunity for other than routine service. The French authorities received confidential information pointing out that it would be unwise to treat the Negro soldier in the same manner that the white men were treated. Yet one of the first units of the National Guard to go overseas was the Fifteenth Regiment of New York, made up of colored troops, and this entire regiment was cited for exceptional valor. One of its men, Sergeant Henry Johnson, is said to have been the first soldier of the A.E.F. to receive the Croix de Guerre with star and palm.[4]

Oddly enough, people who profess to follow the Prince of Peace are prone to make fighting a test of patriotism and loyalty. Knowing this, and knowing themselves to have fought honorably and well, the Negro soldiers had hopes of finding a changed attitude at home. They were bitterly disillusioned. There was a deliberate effort to belittle the Negro's war service. His low scores on the army tests were misinterpreted and cited as proof of his lack of intelligence; individual acts of cowardice and stupidity were emphasized as characteristic of the race.

Moreover, with the usual collapse of idealism that follows war, there was a wave of fear that amounted almost to panic over the returning colored soldier. The Ku Klux Klan, no longer limited to the South, was once more appealing to the worst passions of men. On more than one occasion Negroes were chased through the streets, hunted like animals, beaten and shot, hanged and burned.

It is perhaps not too much to say that the new Negro was made during the war and its aftermath. Cynicism and defiance grew, and a fierce race consciousness came into play. A new school of writers began to express themselves in poetry and fiction. It was in this after-war bitterness that Claude McKay wrote:

> If we must die—let it not be like hogs
> Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
> While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
> Making their mock at our accursed lot.
> . . . . .
> Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
> Pressed to the wall, dying, but—fighting back! [5]

It was at this time that the new Negro definitely began to feel himself a part of the colored races of the world. The white world—particularly that part of it which thought of itself as Anglo-Saxon—had long looked upon the darker peoples everywhere as "lesser breeds without the law," and therefore as having no rights which the white man was bound to respect. The war broke white solidarity, and white prestige tottered as black men and brown were brought into the war zone to kill Austrians and Germans. Then after the war the dark races, who had been charmed by the doctrine of the rights of small nations and the self-determination of peoples, found themselves meeting the

same type of experiences that the American Negro was meeting here. The result was a drawing together of the darker peoples, which is being expressed today in the American Negro's concern for Ethiopia.

It was in this after-war period that there was organized, under the leadership of Dr. Du Bois, the first Pan-African Congress, concerned with the welfare of the Negro races in Africa and elsewhere. On an entirely different level, but significant no less, was Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, designed to retake Africa for the black man. Garvey became High Potentate of the association and Provisional President of Africa, with a retinue of ladies and nobles bedecked in gold braid and decorations. There was a Black Star Steamship Line, Black Cross Nurses, and an African Legion. Naïve souls poured thousands of dollars into the enterprise before the bubble burst and Garvey was convicted and deported for using the mails to defraud.

The Garvey scheme was hopelessly visionary in that American Negroes have no more desire or fitness for life in Africa than white Americans have, nor would they find a welcome there. The episode was significant, however, in that it dramatized Africa as a promised land to a people sorely beset by discrimination, humiliation and injustice. Its appeal, of course, was to the unsophisticated and it set black Negroes against the mulatto group, in which were a large proportion of the more advanced individuals.[6]

3. *Drawing the Color Line*

As we move on toward the middle of the twentieth century the accuracy of Dr. Du Bois's prophecy concerning the color line becomes increasingly apparent. Yet those who seek to define or interpret the point of division find them-

selves curiously baffled, for the color line is by its very nature a puzzle and a paradox. Persons who expect to see white and colored people of the South meanly glowering at each other often find not only much good-natured tolerance but a fair measure of genuine affection, confidence and good will, with an apparently easy relationship that is altogether mystifying to an outsider. It is this absence of open friction that makes the Southern white man feel that he "knows the Negro" and which, in spite of discrimination and injustice, gives the Negro peasant a relative sense of security.[7]

In reality the color line is, as slavery itself was, an adjustment by which the members of two unlike groups can know what is expected of each other and can thus be relieved of the strain of deciding what to do in each situation in order to avoid conflicts and clashes. Laws do not have a great deal to do with the color line except that they make it a little more difficult to shift into a new set of relationships. Reason has nothing to do with the places where it shall be drawn, for it often differs widely from place to place. It can be understood only when its purpose is seen as that of defining status rather than bringing about actual physical separation, though the latter sometimes plays a part. Here one need only remember that a maid's apron, a porter's cap, or a white child in the arms will gain any Negro entrance to places closed to the most distinguished members of the race.

In one sense the color line is a sort of etiquette, a ritual of behavior between races, corresponding somewhat to that etiquette between the sexes which defines men's work and women's work, and the conduct considered proper for men and for women. Having once been accepted as customary, these forms of conduct, even though they may

actually have no inherent value, become "right" and are therefore exceedingly difficult to change. After the etiquette is established a good deal of freedom is possible as long as appearances are kept up. It is a conspicuous fact that race riots occur most often when Negroes move into new territory or for some other reason the situation changes so that there are no recognized or accepted rules of behavior.[8]

The color line is by no means limited to one section of the country, though it is drawn differently North and South. As a rule, Southern people have no objection to the most intimate sort of association with Negroes so long as the colored man "stays in his place," that is, conforms to the color-line behavior of deference and respect to white people. Naturally as Negroes achieve education and economic independence they are less inclined to yield this deference merely because of a white skin. Hence in the South, except for interracial cooperation between persons concerned with religious, educational or social problems, practically all contact between the races is either on the bottom levels of both groups or between the well-to-do whites and the Negro servants or laborers. This latter relationship is often a paternalistic hangover from the slavery era in which the colored servant looks to the white family for financial aid and legal protection and in return renders the loyalty, deference and homage expected.

Northern people as a rule are more willing to grant the Negro a theoretical equality, though there is usually little intimate or even friendly association between individuals of the two groups. The South is still inclined to draw its color line on the horizontal. The North lifts its color line a little nearer the vertical but it is still there. The Negro in the North may sit where he pleases in public convey-

ances and he may use libraries, parks and playgrounds, though he may find himself excluded from some of the latter, particularly the bathing beaches and swimming pools.

Theoretically all Northern churches and schools are open to the Negro, but in practice he finds that white churches seldom want any great number of Negro members and residential segregation often places his children in a colored school. He finds difficulty in buying a house in certain areas and white apartment houses usually have no vacancies when he applies. If he is dark, certain sections of the theatre are likely to be sold out when he presents his money for a ticket, or, if a lighter friend has bought tickets, the usher may discover that there has been some mistake about the seats. Even in cities like New York and Chicago he knows perfectly well that there are certain restaurants where he will not be served and that most hotels will not have room for him.

In spite of these restrictions the Negro has a great deal more freedom in the North than in the South, partly because in the Northern cities he has developed a little world of his own and partly because the North lacks the possessive tradition which the South has concerning Negroes and is therefore likely to let him alone unless he gets in the way in one fashion or another.[9]

4. *Color Line Taboos*

Certain aspects of the color line take on the nature of primitive taboos. They can't be talked about: they are subjects about which people "think with their feelings"—which means, of course, that they do not think at all. Fortunately America seems to be growing up in this respect, and among more intelligent groups, North and South, rational discus-

sion of these tabooed subjects is more common than it once was.

These taboos are usually summed up in the vague and undefined term "social equality," which seems to be symbolized by shaking hands, using the title of "Mister," eating together, and intermarrying. Although there is no necessary relationship, these four acts are supposed to lead one to another. Handshaking is, of course, merely a recognized form of greeting between Western peoples, but in this case it seems to carry a notion of status.

The use of the first name carries the idea of intimacy in ordinary relations but when used for Negroes there is often the implication of a real or potential servant status. When Booker T. Washington was at the height of his fame there was much embarrassment over what he should be called. It was obviously ridiculous to call a man of his ability and achievement by his first name, yet to break the taboo and say "Mr. Washington" was to admit that Negroes might rise out of the servant class. Many persons therefore said "Professor," and later he was generally called Dr. Washington, a form which was considered quite all right.

The taboo against titles for women is even stronger than for men, and the convenient "Brother," "Doctor," "Bishop," or "Professor," used for preachers and other professional men, does not apply. Certain Southern newspapers carrying editions for colored people once resorted to the rather absurd device of using the French "Madame" and "Mademoiselle" when referring to the social activities of their colored readers. It is perhaps worth noting that while the taboo against titles still persists in some sections and among some classes, it is fast disappearing among the better-educated Southern people. A number of Southern publica-

tions now use the ordinary courtesy titles as a matter of course.

The taboo against eating together still persists strongly among many people and is not limited to the South. Most nation-wide religious bodies have developed a conscience on the question of segregation and they attempt to hold their gatherings in places where all delegates can be treated equally. They rarely succeed, for even in Northern cities almost no hotel large enough to care for such a body will open all its dining rooms to Negro guests.[10]

Among many people there seems to be an assumption that any sort of recognition of the Negro either involves eating with one's servants or inviting colored people to dinner. The fact that white servants do not ordinarily eat with the families they serve and that one usually chooses one's own dinner guests seems to be generally overlooked. Interestingly enough, in the South in recent years numerous church conferences have had Negro speakers as their guests at mealtime without causing even a ripple of comment.

There seems likewise to be an assumption that any recognition of the Negro will lead to intermarriage. "Would you want your sister to marry a Negro?" carries the curious implication that either a woman may be forced to marry against her will or else that, if given an opportunity, she would deliberately choose a husband of a race different from her own. Since neither of these things seems likely, the rhetorical question serves merely to confuse the issue.

People often confuse amalgamation or race mixture with interracial marriage. There has never been any appreciable number of Negro-white marriages in this country and yet race mixture has gone on to such a degree that a conservative estimate assigns at least half of the Negro population to the mulatto class. Of course a great many present-day

mulattoes are either the children of mulatto parents or children of one Negro and one mulatto parent. Nevertheless, the great amount of the white blood now in the veins of the American Negro is there not through intermarriage but through race mixture outside of marriage. Since this race mixture has come about through the aggression of men of the white race, Negroes are prone to smile a bit cynically when white people say they oppose intermarriage because they wish to keep the races pure. Not only is the Negro race not pure, but it is generally conceded that a fairly large number of light persons having Negro blood "pass" into the white group each year by the simple means of going to some place where their family connections are not known.

There seems reason to believe that there is less actual race intermixture at the present than in times past. It appears to decrease as the Negro home becomes more stable, as the moral standards of the race improve, as race pride increases, and as colored parents are in a better position to protect their daughters from casual relationships with white men. It seems probable, therefore, that race purity is preserved rather than threatened as the Negro rises to higher social levels.

On the whole, though colored people oppose laws forbidding intermarriage, they have usually objected as strenuously as white people when such marriages have taken place. One nationally known Negro leader probably expressed the opinion of a large portion of his group when he said, in substance, "I do contend for the right of mature persons to marry whom they please, and I object to any law which implies that all members of the Negro race are inferior to any person of the white race, and which leaves the colored girl unprotected. On the other hand, in our

present social order an interracial marriage places such a handicap on all concerned that I would earnestly beg any couple not to contract such a marriage." [11]

Intermarriage itself does not seem to be an actual issue of any great significance, since it rarely takes place even where it is permitted. It is made significant by the fact that its prohibition by law carries an implication of racial inferiority and by the fact that it furnishes perhaps the major area of confused and non-rational thinking on the part of white people in their consideration of the problems of race. It is the red herring *par excellence.*

5. *The Blight of the Color Line*

There is no one set of customs, practices, or proscriptions of which we can say: this constitutes the color line. Yet the line is as real as it is intangible. One striking aspect of the situation lies in what has been referred to as the Negro's "high visibility." In contrast to the white group among which he lives, his features, his hair, and his color mark him at once as different; they form a sort of racial badge that sets him off and identifies him. And since a whole complex of discriminations and associations has grown up around his racial group, he is more or less trapped by his color.

Perhaps the situation can be most clearly illustrated by taking the case of the Negro child. Somewhere along the way—usually fairly early—the colored child becomes conscious that he is "different." Juliette Derricotte in Alabama saw a grocer's manner change from courtesy to rudeness when he saw that she, a brown-skinned child, belonged to the lighter woman he had taken to be white. She recalled still more bitterly the day when her mother was finally compelled to tell her that no matter how high her school

record was she couldn't go on to the local girls' school because she was colored.

It came to Burghardt Du Bois in the hills of Massachusetts when a white child, new to the school, haughtily refused the gay card he offered in what had been a merry exchange. Countee Cullen expresses something of the tragedy a white world makes of color when he writes of the gleeful child riding in old Baltimore.

> Now I was eight and very small
> And he was no whit bigger
> And so I smiled, but he poked out
> His tongue and called me "nigger."
>
> I saw the whole of Baltimore
> From May until December.
> Of all the things that happened there
> That's all that I remember.[12]

From his earliest school days the Negro child, whether in a segregated or a mixed school, lives in a world in which all glory and beauty, all heroism and worth, is measured by the white man's standard. He comes to associate his darker skin, his broader nose, and his krinkly hair not only with ugliness but with inferiority. The stories in his school readers are about the affairs of white folk. His geography is likely to picture Africa as a land of crude savages. It is never a land where black kings ruled, but the place from which black slaves were taken. His history books make no mention of the black empires of Songhoy and Melle or of the rich culture of his ancestors in Ashanti and Dahomey. He can read the stories of American wars and never suspect that black men fought courageously in all of them. In most schools he can go through every one of his text-

books and find never a word of Frederick Douglass or Booker T. Washington.[13]

His normal pride in and respect for his parents may get a rude jolt when his father stands silent and defenseless before the curses of some white man or when the white plumber or delivery boy curtly addresses his mother by her first name. In some areas the white school superintendent may walk into the colored school without removing his hat and may fail to treat the teacher with ordinary courtesy.

When the colored child goes to a motion picture or a play he seldom sees any of his own people in any rôle but that of the servant, the roughneck, or the clown. He quickly learns that "Everybody Invited" does not mean quite what it says even when it is on the door of a church. He is taught very early to make himself inconspicuous, to act with appropriate humility, to conceal his real feelings in the presence of white people. In short, he learns that this is a white man's country. The dose may be lightened if he goes North, but he never wholly escapes it.

What all this does to the personality of the child is not difficult to imagine. He may learn his lesson so well that he believes himself really to be inferior and accepts without question the rôle assigned him. He may meet the situation with fatalism or dull resentment. He may try passionately to make himself as much like white people as possible, in which case he will be criticized for "trying to imitate the white man."

Along with the extreme race consciousness growing out of this sense of difference there is the dead weight of the knowledge of an artificial limitation. The dark child learns very early that there are a great many doors completely closed to him. Moreover, he lacks the incentive that comes of the "collective expectation" of his world. Neither Ne-

groes nor white people expect the colored child to make good in quite the same way that they expect the white child to achieve. It is not surprising when the Negro child does not expect much of himself.

Even if the Negro achieves in spite of his handicaps, he is nowhere free of the blight of the color line. It causes him to waste untold amounts of emotional energy in fear, uncertainty, humiliation and disgust. If he believes the worst of every situation he grows bitter and cynical. If he tries to believe the best he lays himself open to deliberate insult.

The color line thus strikes out at the Negro in a thousand different ways and in the most unexpected places. It shuts countless doors in his face and keeps him forever conscious of his difference and of the white world's assumption of his inferiority. It isn't, as one Negro has said, that these things happen every day. Their devastating work is done because they happen so often that one never knows quite what to expect.

Chapter Nine

THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN

1. *America's Tenth Man*

IN order to understand more clearly the conditions confronting the colored people of America it may be useful to summarize briefly a few facts concerning the present-day Negro whose story we have followed in these pages.

Less than seventy-five years have gone by since the slaves were freed. The four million freedmen, plus fewer than half a million who were already free, now have twelve million descendants representing the second and third, and sometimes the fourth generation. These persons are to be found in every state in the Union. There are more than a million in Georgia and there are another million in Mississippi. There are fewer than five hundred in North Dakota, and four other states have fewer than a thousand each. Only Mississippi now has as much as half her population colored, though South Carolina doesn't miss it far and in every Southern state except Tennessee and Texas at least one of every three or four persons is a Negro. On the other hand, in sixteen states the Negro population averages less than one for each hundred white persons.

There are numerous counties in which Negroes outnumber the whites. There are white towns where by chance no Negroes live and other white towns where a Negro is not even permitted to pass the night. There are also black towns where Negroes return the compliment and ask white

people to stay away. Three out of four Negroes today live in the South, and of these the majority are in rural areas. Yet New York City and Chicago together claim more than half a million, and a total of almost three millions live in the North, where most of them are in cities.[1]

The 1920 Census indicated that twenty per cent of American Negroes were of mixed blood. Melville Herskovits, on the basis of recent studies, believes that eighty per cent is more nearly the correct figure. He also believes that there is in this group perhaps a new race in the making, a race aptly referred to as Brown America. At least it seems safe to say that fully half of the American Negroes of today have white blood in their veins, with often an added Indian strain. Even if there is no additional white mixture the increase of mulattoes and the intermarriage of Negroes and mulattoes seems likely to create a race in which the pure black will cease to exist.[2]

Within this group of twelve million there is already the widest possible divergence of physical types, color, and cultural status. There are "typical" Negroes as distinctive in appearance as any who came out of Africa. There are others so light that no person of either group could possibly guess the presence of Negro blood. There are cultural differences as wide as the range from the illiterate, shuffling, lazy, and sometimes dull-witted toiler on an obscure plantation to Rhodes scholars, holders of Phi Beta Kappa keys, and doctors of philosophy. There are thugs, murderers, thieves and prostitutes, and there are humble, honest, hard-working peasants. There are ordinary middle-class American working folk; there are the "climbers"; there are those who are ashamed of their race and those who are proud of it. There are poets, actors, playwrights, editors, doctors, lawyers, teachers, preachers, scientists, and business men, as well as

porters, day laborers, sharecroppers, cooks and washerwomen. And in every class from the lowest to the highest may be found the good, the bad, and the indifferent.

There are still curiously contradictory assumptions regarding the Negroes of mixed blood. A person will affirm that race mixture produces an inferior hybrid and in the next breath will credit some mulatto's achievement to the fact that he has white blood. A color class has grown up within the Negro group itself and in some cases the line between the mulattoes and the darker Negroes is almost as rigid as the line between white and colored.

While a majority, though by no means all, of the outstanding Negroes seem to have some degree of white blood, the evidence increasingly points to wider opportunity rather than to race mixture as a cause. Even in slavery days the mulatto was likely to be favored above his darker brother. He still finds many doors opened to him because he approximates the white man's notion of an attractive appearance. The very fact that people believe mulattoes to be superior gives them some advantage, for what a group thinks of itself has an important bearing on its achievement. Moreover, proportionately the least amount of race mixture goes on in the Black Belt, where most of the Negroes are. This is also the area where the Negro has least opportunity. The greatest race mixture has taken place in towns, and in towns Negroes have found wider cultural advantages. It thus seems that biological mixture and cultural opportunity grow out of the same situations but do not necessarily have any cause and effect relation.

Recent intelligence tests showed colored children in Northern cities to rate higher than colored children in Southern areas, but they showed no measurable difference in ability between dark and light children. Lighter-skinned

Negroes, on the whole, have had more opportunities and advantages than their darker brothers, but there does not seem to be any conclusive evidence that indicates that a lighter color means more brains.[8]

For the most part, white America lumps all Negro people together and makes few, if any, allowances for class distinctions. Prejudice and the rigid drawing of the color line are the unifying factors. Yet it is only when they face the white world that American Negroes can be thought of as a composite. The strains to which they are subjected vary enormously between the Black Belt and Chicago or Harlem. But one thing they all hold in common: nowhere in the United States of America is any person who is obviously a Negro free in the same sense of the word that white persons are free. Rich and poor, light and dark, educated and ignorant, all bear in greater or less degree some measure of the black man's burden.

2. *And Still There Is Lynching*

There is perhaps no other subject about which the whole of Negro America feels so keenly as that of lynching. It is the terror of the black peasant in the South and the theme of stories, novels, poems, and essays by the most sophisticated Harlemites. Obviously there is something deeper here than the annual toll of fifteen or twenty colored persons, usually poor and ignorant, who die at the hands of "parties unknown."

The record of lynchings in this country does not make pleasant reading. Since 1885 more than four thousand persons have met death in this extra-legal fashion. Since 1918 there have been nearly five hundred victims, forty of whom have been whites. The time-worn excuse for lynching has been that it was resorted to only for crimes against white

women, and that it was necessary to bring swift and sure justice to the criminal, to serve as a warning to other Negroes criminally inclined, and to protect the outraged white woman from the ordeal of testifying in court against her assailant.

It should not be necessary to point out that these statements have slight relation to the facts. Only about one-fifth of the persons lynched have been accused of attempted crimes against women. Moreover, in the last twenty years, eleven women have been lynched, one of whom was burned alive in spite of the fact that she was in the last months of pregnancy and was accused of no crime whatsoever. The mob victim is occasionally guilty of some atrocious crime, but in many cases the offenses charged would have brought a white man no heavier sentence than that imposed for disorderly conduct. Often the victim is guilty of no crime at all.

One of the most serious aspects of mob law lies in the fact that for each victim lynched from five to one thousand or more white persons take over the functions of law, court, judge, jury and executioner, and thus the very foundations of the social order are undermined. In a sickening number of cases the whole episode becomes a sort of Roman holiday in which men, women, and children indulge in a sadistic orgy worthy of the Inquisition. One enterprising newspaper photographer has presented us with the picture of a little girl in a starched white dress standing on the inside of a circle of children who have gathered to view a body left hanging by the previous night's lynching party.

The North has blamed the South for lynchings, the South has blamed the "poor whites," and some of these have been no little pleased at the honor and boastful of the fact

that they will "string up any nigger that don't stay in his place." The picture, however, is not so simple as this.

It is perfectly true that, taking the South as a whole, the better class of white people do not participate in lynchings. They do not tie black bodies by the feet to the back end of Ford cars to be dragged through the town face downward; they do not poke red hot irons at slowly roasting victims; they do not grab charred bones for souvenirs; they do not set fire to courthouses in which Negroes are locked for safekeeping. But too often they stand by consenting to these deeds, and they are inclined to hush them up afterward rather than prosecute their neighbors.[4]

Moreover, there is a sense in which the better class of people in the North as well as those in the South are responsible for the lynchings in America. After all, there are two fundamental aspects of the lynching problem. One is mob behavior, a bad habit of expressing one's boredom, fear, wrath, or insecurity by taking it out on a helpless victim. There are probably a number of complex factors involved in this type of behavior, but it is essentially one that does not appeal to the more intelligent, educated, thoughtful, and enlightened element in the social order. Therefore the dirty work of lynching is usually done by the class of white people who are economically or socially insecure.

Mob behavior, however, is only one aspect of lynching —the crude outward expression of an attitude. Occasionally white people are lynched, but by far the greatest number of victims are Negroes, and at bottom the greatest number of offenses grow out of something connected with the relative status of Negroes and white people. Such lynchings are possible because the victim is "only a nigger," and prevailing opinion in the United States considers Negroes to

be of less value than white people and hence the death of a Negro of less consequence than the death of a white person.

So long as the Negro is deprived of the vote, forcibly segregated, and discriminated against as he is in some degree in every state in the Union—so long as these things exist by the consent of the best people, North and South, the same feeling and judgment will express itself in cruder and more barbaric form by the cruder and less refined folk. The man who argues that a Negro should have fewer rights than a white man of the same ability and the man who lights the faggots at a lynching party are using two widely different means of expressing the same fundamental notion: that Negroes do not count in the same way that white people count. Until white America faces this fact and reckons with it, the whole nation, North and South, stands shamed and guilty before the world, and colored America rightly feels that as a group they still have no rights which the white man is bound to respect.

3. *Black Handicaps*

It is generally conceded that the Negro group furnishes more than its share of vice, crime, illegitimacy, and juvenile delinquency. It is assumed that the whole moral tone of the life among Negroes is low; they are supposed to be particularly prone to sex crimes, to fighting with knives and razors, and to petty theft. There are many people who insist that Negro women are never virtuous and that the Negro family is a wholly unstable institution. This indictment would be a heavy burden for any group to carry. Unfortunately the load is often made heavier by the assumption that the Negro is by nature criminal; that is, that these things are the inevitable expression of inborn racial traits

that are a part of his African heritage. Many Negroes themselves have accepted this thesis and it has served as a generally inhibiting factor in the Negro's effort for his own betterment as well as an excuse for a laissez faire attitude toward Negroes on the part of white people.

There seems to be little reason to suppose that any of these traits are traceable either to racial inheritance or to African custom. The African heritage theory has been particularly overworked by persons who got their ideas of Africa from the tales of casual travelers or other distorted sources. These "inherited" customs are often the exact opposite of those existing in the areas of Africa from which most of the American slaves came.

A much more reasonable explanation is that many of the Negro's habits are a definite heritage from the school of slavery, and that the conditions under which many Negroes are forced to live are such as to make it particularly hard to meet high standards of conduct.

Statistics on crime may show the Negro to be worse than he is. Such figures need careful analysis and checking for reliability. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations found that in Chicago there were no accurately kept crime records and there was a disposition to arrest Negroes more freely than whites, to book them on more serious charges, to convict them more readily, and to give them longer sentences. In Southern cities the Negro is often arrested for vagrancy or disorderly conduct, and he is often rounded up with a lot of his fellows when some crime has been committed and arrests are in order whether there are specific charges against him or not.

The Chicago Commission also found that the majority of the Negro criminals in their city came from the group on the lowest economic level. A study of crime in North

Carolina revealed that more than a third of the Negroes in penal institutions were illiterate and not one of the Negro prisoners convicted of a capital crime had gone beyond the sixth grade in school. It has long been the boast of Negro colleges that none of their graduates and few of their students are ever convicted of crime.[5]

Other factors which enter into the record of vice and crime are overcrowding, segregation, the abnormally high percentage of Negro mothers who work, the absence of parks, playgrounds, and other recreational facilities, and a failure in many states to provide institutional care or supervision for colored juvenile offenders, delinquent girls, feeble-minded persons and other defectives.

Juvenile delinquency, vice, illegitimacy and family disorganization seem to be definitely related to patterns set up in the slavery period and to the Negro migrations of recent years. In the slave family the master and not the husband controlled the children and was responsible for the support of the family. There was no really legal marriage and no stigma on illegitimacy. Slavery left no traditions, no family pride, no accumulation and inheritance of property, no occupations handed down from father to son. Before these handicaps could be overcome and the Negro family stabilized, the migrations from country to city and from South to North set in and a new social and economic life was demanded. Such migrations seem to bring about, at given periods, a degree of disorganization directly related to the upsetting of the ratio between the sexes, the changed economic situations, and the conflict between the generation born in the old environment and the one growing up in the new.[6]

It should not be necessary to point out that among middle and upper class Negroes there is no more vice, crime, de-

linquency, and family disorganization than among corresponding groups of whites. However, Negroes on these cultural levels are seldom known to the white world. The whole race, in respect to crime as in so many other matters, is judged by the behavior of its weaker members.

4. *Getting an Education*

Today practically eighty-five per cent of the Negro people are counted as literate and the college enrolment has jumped from a little more than two thousand, twenty years ago, to more than twenty-five thousand today. Yet in spite of this progress the Negro carries a heavy educational handicap in comparison with the white world in which he must live and work and by whose standards he is ultimately judged. The South as a whole has poorer educational facilities than the rest of the nation, and rural schools are seriously handicapped in relation to town and city schools. When we remember that three-fourths of the Negroes live in the South, and of this number over half are in rural areas, some idea may be gained of the difficulties in the way of the Negro's education. To this already dark picture must be added the fact that in sixteen states and the District of Columbia separate schools for Negroes are maintained. This increases the total cost of education and of course the Negro school usually gets the poor end of the bargain. While the amount spent for each white and each colored child varies enormously from state to state, the annual average for the white pupil in the South as a whole is about forty-five dollars, while that of the colored pupil is less than thirteen dollars. The average for the nation as a whole is ninety-nine dollars.

In fairness it should be said that the Southern states not only have less per capita wealth than the rest of the nation

but they also have more children in proportion to the number of adults. The result is that the total income per child in the Southern states is about two-fifths of the average for the nation, and the South actually spends a larger amount of each tax dollar on schools than the rest of the country. Nevertheless, the division of what little funds there are is grossly unfair, and the colored child pays the penalty. In some states the white child gets as much as eight times the amount allowed the Negro child.

In many rural areas the colored school lasts only a few months, the equipment is inadequate, and the teachers poorly trained. In some areas the terms are so short that in order to get the equivalent of a high school education a pupil would have to attend school twenty-seven years! There are more than two hundred counties having an eighth or more of the population colored in which there is no high school, and as many more in which the high school offers less than four years' work. Most states now make some provision for college, industrial, and teacher training for Negroes, but a colored student in the South who wishes to study law or medicine or to carry on other types of graduate work usually must leave his state in order to secure such an opportunity.[7]

The cause of Negro education has been greatly aided by various foundations and agencies. The largest and most diverse in its influence has been the General Education Board and the Associated Rockefeller Funds. The Phelps-Stokes Fund has rendered significant contributions to higher education, the Jeanes Fund has provided for visiting teachers, and the Slater Fund for a system of county training schools. Perhaps the best known agency is the Julius Rosenwald Fund which, along with other work, has aided in the building of more than five thousand rural schools for

Negroes. One conspicuous advantage in the Rosenwald procedure has been the requirement that a matching fund be raised locally. Negroes themselves have given more than four million dollars toward such schools, white people over a million, and the states and counties concerned more than eighteen million.

The Negro's education began with the Sabbath school of colonial days and since the Civil War the churches have played a prominent part in providing educational opportunities that otherwise would not have been available. Some fifteen or twenty white church boards maintain some type of school for Negroes, and four Negro church boards support a hundred and fifty schools. Most of these schools do high school and some elementary school work. They have in the past rendered a significant contribution to Negro education, but it is increasingly apparent that the race will suffer serious educational handicaps until adequate public school facilities are made available to all American children regardless of color.[8]

5. *Getting a Job*

While there are today many Negroes in the professions and in various business enterprises, the great masses of the colored people remain in the ranks of unskilled labor, held to the bottom of the economic pile by prejudices against them as well as by their own ignorance, inefficiency, and lack of initiative.

A large percentage of the Negroes are in personal or domestic service in the South, where they carry over to a great extent the slave habits of servility and economic dependence. In the days of slavery individual white men owned individual Negroes. After the coming of freedom the notion prevailed that white people as a whole in some

way more or less owned Negroes as a whole. In this situation, a "good nigger" means pretty much what a "good child" does to unthinking persons; that is, one who does as he is told, does not talk back or ask too many questions, and is generally seen but not heard. This feeling is revealed in the behavior pattern which Dr. Robert E. Park has referred to as the disposition of Southern white people to treat all Negroes familiarly (and possessively) and of Southern Negroes to treat all white people respectfully.[9]

Negroes of this class still find it convenient to attach themselves to some responsible white family and by dependence, service, loyalty, and judicial flattery to secure the economic and legal protection which is otherwise denied them. These dependents may be paid absurdly low wages, but they carry home food from the white man's kitchen and are given old clothes, discarded furniture, and the cast-off odds and ends of the white household. The white family often lends money in emergencies and if the Negro faces eviction, needs a doctor, or falls into the clutches of the law, it is his "white folks" who stand good for his bills or his behavior.

This whole pattern of dependence is essentially a degrading one in that the white man is tempted to substitute a benevolent paternalism for economic justice and the Negro is led to depend not on his own foresight and enterprise but on keeping the white man's good will. These habits disappear as the Negro rises out of the ranks of servile labor and the old customs give way to more impersonal relations. Yet in certain areas and on certain levels this type of relationship provides the only security open to him.

More than half the Negroes living in the South are engaged in farming and a larger percentage of these are tenants known as sharecroppers. In most cases the tenant

owns nothing. The planter supplies the land, house, team, tools, seed, and credit at the local store for food and other necessities, with perhaps occasional advances of cash. The cropper works from ten to twenty-five acres of cotton. The planter sells the cotton, keeps his share of the proceeds, and from the tenant's share deducts cash advances he had made and the amount of the accumulated bills plus interest, which may run from ten to twenty-five per cent.

If the crop is good the planter may find other items to add or he may simply decide that the cropper's half is "too much money for a nigger." In bad years the tenant's share really does not equal what he has spent. In any event the planter sets the price, keeps the books, sells the cotton, and makes the accounting. For a Negro to dispute a planter's word or ask for a written account when none is offered is to invite disaster. Lynchings have grown out of less.

Of course not all planters are dishonest and cruel. They often deal with stupid or indifferent labor, and their lands are in many cases worn out and poor. They must operate on credit and assume responsibility for losses. The whole system is a vicious one at best, and at its worst the share-cropper is little better than a slave.[10]

In Northern areas the Negro workers are to be found primarily in the cities. Many of those who pushed North during the war years at the urgent invitation of industry now find themselves without work and with little opportunity to better their condition. The Negro shares all the hardships of other low-income groups, with the added disadvantages that certain jobs are closed to him, that white workers are given preference in many fields, and that residential segregation creates problems of transportation and family disorganization. Negroes now furnish twice as many unemployed in proportion to their number as white people. By

1935 the number of Negroes on relief had reached three and a half million, or more than a fourth of the colored population. As Negroes fall out in the struggle and increasing numbers are pushed to the bottom levels, the status of the whole race will suffer and once more there will be thrown upon the group the burden of proof that the explanation is not to be found in racial habits.

The vocational color line is quite irrational. Even in the North a Negro may not be a street-car or subway conductor though he may be a messenger who carries thousands of dollars between the company's office and the bank. He must not sell goods over the counter, though he may deliver the merchandise after it is sold. He may be in charge of a Pullman car that carries no conductor but he may not be a Pullman conductor. As a rule, a Negro can be a deckhand but not a sailor; a policeman but not a fireman.[11]

The Negro generally lacks the help that other labor groups get through their labor organizations. When the Negroes first went North in large numbers their entrance into the industrial world was opposed by organized labor. The colored worker had no tradition of organization and his accustomed attitude was one of loyalty to the boss to whom he looked for help and not to fellow workers opposed to the owners. He was refused entrance to most unions, and this fact, combined with his traditional habits, led him into the rôle of scab and strikebreaker. Certain unions have been more liberal than others in accepting Negroes, and in some cases he has worked out separate organizations. On the whole, however, the colored worker is outside the ranks of organized labor.

6. Houses and Health

The Negro people as a group carry an abnormally heavy health handicap. Though the health rating has been slowly rising during the past two decades, the mortality rate for colored people is still from forty-five to fifty per cent higher than that for whites, and the white man has a life expectancy of fifteen years longer than that of the Negro.

It was once thought that the Negro was racially disposed to certain diseases and that these would ultimately cause the race to die out. It now appears much more probable that most, if not all, of the Negro's peculiar health problems are to be explained by the conditions under which he lives. His death rate drops and the expectation of life increases in proportion as his financial and cultural status is advanced. Certainly a large percentage of the deaths among Negroes can be traced to such sources as poverty, bad housing, overcrowding, malnutrition, ignorance of sanitation and health measures, inadequate health facilities, and inability to secure medical care.

In the matter of housing the Negro suffers the difficulties of other low-income groups plus those added by enforced segregation. In rural areas he is better off than in the cities, but even in the open country his poor diet may leave him a victim to pellagra, his water supply may be polluted, and his house often unscreened. In the cities he is herded into squalid flats with inadequate water supply and heating, insufficient sanitary arrangements, and shameless overcrowding. An absence of parks and playgrounds adds to the bad effects of insufficient air and sunlight in the home. In smaller cities and towns where conditions are less crowded, sewerage, paving, street cleaning, and garbage removal frequently stop where the Negro quarter begins.

Even the better class of Negroes suffer a serious handicap in the lack of hospital facilities available to members of their race. Under our almost completely segregated system of hospitalization there is one hospital bed available for every two thousand Negroes as compared to one bed for each one hundred and fifty of the white population. For the patient with tuberculosis—one of the diseases ranking among the first in the Negro death rate—the Negro has about one twenty-fifth the opportunity for sanitarium care that the white person has.[12]

Tragic cases are on record of desperately injured Negroes who have been refused admittance to hospitals and even denied ambulance service because the institution made no provision for colored patients. In some of the thickly populated colored sections of the South there are no hospital facilities available to Negroes without their going such a distance as to make use of them practically impossible. It is true, of course, that many white people in rural areas are far removed from hospitals, but here, as in so many other areas of his life, the Negro carries the usual handicap of the poor and the extra burden of color discrimination.

7. *The Negro's Dilemma*

It would not be fair to say that the black man's burden is all of the white man's making. Negroes themselves often have been too ready to slip into ways of dependence and to follow the paths of least resistance. Many Negro leaders, along with thoughtful white persons, have been baffled and disheartened at the black man's willingness to let sleeping dogs lie, at his easy acceptance of injustice, at his readiness to get along by flattering the white world about him, and at his tendency to blame his failures on the prejudice of white men instead of placing it at the door of his own

inefficiency, where it sometimes belongs. He has too often sat waiting for the white world to give him rights and recognition which men come by after another fashion. He has too readily assumed a hat-in-hand attitude. He has often distrusted his own people and has meekly accepted the dominant world's judgment that anything white is better than anything black.

Sometimes he has asked for business because he is a "race man" rather than because he has something to offer. He has flattered white folks in order to get or to keep a job, to build his church, or to run his school. It is in this dealing with the white world that he most nearly sells his soul for a mess of pottage, for while the white man likes to be flattered and often pays for it cheerfully, he despises the flatterer as a servile beggar. These persons, known to the more independent members of their own race as "Uncle Toms," are themselves one of the black man's heaviest burdens in his struggle for freedom in American life.

Yet in recognizing all the loads which black men themselves lay on the shoulders of their race, one must not minimize the sins which the white man must answer for. Flattery and clowning sometimes have been the white man's price and the Negro must pay it if he hopes to survive at all. All too often he has been confronted with the choice of submitting to humiliating discriminations or doing without those things necessary to a normal development. Whichever way he chose there was exacted a heavy toll.

Confronted with the task of trying to change an undesirable and unjust system the Negro finds himself curiously trapped. He cannot get wholly within American life nor can he wholly withdraw himself from it. He is blamed for the ignorance of his people but given neither voice nor justice in the expenditure of school funds. He is reproached

with the crimes of his people but in the states where most of his people live he has no vote, no voice in making laws, no power in helping enforce them. Segregation and discrimination help to keep him poor and ignorant, while his poverty and ignorance are used to justify the differential treatment given him.

The Negro forever faces the temptation of feeling sorry for himself and thus of slipping into shoddy living. If he makes demands that are too radical for the community in which he lives he runs the risk of arousing antagonism which may rob his group of hard won gains necessary to their very existence. If he meekly accepts injustice and discrimination he finds himself less than a man not only in his own eyes but also in the eyes of the world that most vehemently demands that he "stay in his place." This problem constitutes the black man's dilemma and his heaviest burden as well.

Chapter Ten

BROWN AMERICA

1. *Introducing Brown America*

MANY Americans have had a fair amount of contact with Negro servants and workmen. They have read the stories of Octavus Roy Cohen and Irvin Cobb; they have listened to Amos and Andy; they have heard Negroes sing spirituals; and they may have seen "The Green Pastures." A smaller number of persons have had some long-distance contact with the Negro intellectual or artist. They perhaps have heard Roland Hayes sing, have seen Paul Robeson act, or have listened to James Weldon Johnson read his poetry. Out of such several and varied experiences and from chance hearsay white Americans have built up their notions about colored people, notions that usually take the form of stereotypes which have little relation to reality or are representative of only a small group. Very little is known about the ever growing company which includes the more prosperous farm owners, the better class of skilled workers, and the business and professional folk.

In 1930 Negroes were credited with an accumulated wealth of more than two and a half billion dollars, they conducted more than seventy thousand business enterprises, and three quarters of a million heads of families owned their homes. Something like a hundred and fifty thousand Negroes were in the professions, and more than twenty thousand had college degrees. There were fifty thousand school

teachers, perhaps thirty thousand preachers, three or four thousand doctors, and a thousand or so persons listed as artists, librarians, actors, authors and editors.[1]

Either of necessity or for comfort's sake, these people live in a world of their own. The Negro business man normally serves a colored neighborhood. The Negro doctor, dentist, or lawyer only rarely finds himself with other than colored patients or clients. The colored teacher usually has pupils of her own race; the Negro preacher is never pastor of a white church and only rarely sees a white visitor in his congregation. To escape the unpleasantness and humiliation of Jim Crow practices most Negroes of this class avoid street-cars, railroads, hotels, and restaurants. They travel in their own automobiles, they eat at home or with friends, they entertain each other when business or pleasure takes them from home. Even in Northern cities like New York and Chicago this mode of living varies only to a degree, chiefly because there have developed Negro populations capable of maintaining a completely separate life.

Negro business enterprises include life insurance companies, banks, building concerns, taxicab companies, and practically every type of retail selling. In recent years a particularly successful business venture has been the manufacture of hair and skin preparations and the establishment of the beauty parlor and of training schools for beauty parlor operators. There are those who are inclined to smile at this profitable undertaking as one more evidence of the Negro's effort to be like white people. It is more reasonably interpreted as a normal desire to conform to the prevailing conception of beauty in the Western culture of which they are a part. A great deal of what was thought to be the Negro's uncouth and naturally rough appearance has

been remedied by the present generation's attention to good grooming—an effective aid to poise and self-respect in people of any race.

The Negro press is a little known but flourishing enterprise. In recent years there have been four or five hundred periodicals edited and published by Negroes. While the greatest number of these are in the South, they are to be found in practically every state in the Union. Included in the list is one daily and over two hundred weeklies, besides religious journals, medical journals, music magazines and the periodicals published by colleges, institutes and schools.

Among the more significant publications are the *Chicago Defender,* which in true Chicago fashion calls itself the "world's greatest weekly"; *The Crisis*, the monthly organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; *Opportunity*, also a monthly, and an organ of the National Urban League. Hampton Institute publishes *The Southern Workman*, Howard University issues *The Journal of Negro Education*, and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History publishes *The Journal of Negro History*.

Practically all of these publications deal more or less exclusively with matters of special interest to the Negro and are a result of the dual world in which the Negro lives. They do not, as a rule, attempt to take the place of the general newspapers and periodicals which certain classes of Negroes probably read as freely as do corresponding classes of white people.[2]

Negroes have been particularly successful in the world of sports and as entertainers. Colored and white boys alike, together with many of their elders, had a whole new set of thrills when Eddie Tolan smashed one track record after another in this country, and when, more recently, Jesse

Owens and Joe Louis took championship status in track and the prize ring.

The Negro appeared as an entertainer first on the minstrel stage and later in musical comedy. He is only beginning to get a chance at serious acting. The tradition still holds that any portrayal of Negro life must be either pathetic or funny, that a Negro must not play in the same cast with white people except as a servant or clown, and that Negroes must play only colored rôles. These taboos are gradually weakening, however, and the success of "The Green Pastures," "Porgy," "The Emperor Jones," and of certain motion picture productions in which Negroes play serious rôles perhaps predict a changing attitude in this realm.

2. *The Negro's Gifts to America*

In an earlier chapter the statement was made that the Negro was largely robbed of his cultural heritage and that there is almost nothing in American Negro life that is distinctly African. This seems to be true, and yet it is absurd to suppose that the hundreds of thousands of persons brought into this country underwent a sort of collective amnesia. Language, specific skills, morals, manners, and habits undoubtedly were lost as the Negroes were molded into the forms of American slavery, yet they must have contributed something to the common life that grew out of these contacts. It is not possible to unravel the threads of this life or to know specifically what elements were produced by slavery, what may have been Indian or a product of the frontier, and what strands from Africa the Negro may have woven into the whole.[3]

We know that throughout large areas of Africa the native not only sings as he works—often in a plaintive minor key—but the leader of a group of laborers or dancers composes

songs to which the whole group responds in unison, and that these songs have both the patterns and the vivid word picturing of many of the Negro spirituals and work songs. We know that the counterparts of the Uncle Remus stories are still told around African campfires; that while African peoples are not the lazy, indolent creatures they are often thought to be, they do seem to appreciate the appropriateness of a rhythm of work and leisure; and that they are notably a polite and ceremonious people.[4]

Music and laughter the Negro undoubtedly has brought, and America owes much to the picturesque speech and the cleverly turned phrases of her folk population. Certainly the Negro has given America the only genuine folk music she has. This music is by no means all of a single type. There are the almost ritualistic prayer songs, the sorrow songs in which, often in Biblical terms, the oppressed slave found escape and release from harsh reality. There are the freer evangelical or camp meeting songs resembling the revival songs of the whites, but with a distinct imagery of their own. There are the folk ballads, the "blues," and the work songs that eased the burden of the day and allowed a sort of indirect and sublimated back-talk to the "boss man." This is not African music, nor is it European. It seems rather to be the creation of gifted Africans in their reaction to a Western environment.

One has only to hear such songs as "Walk Together, Children," "Water Boy," "Joshua Fit de Battle ob Jericho," "Listen to the Lambs," "Inchin' Along," "Lord, I Want to be a Christian," "He Scandalized My Name," "Deep River," and "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," to realize that here is richness, imagery, and a folk art that is one of the few original and significant contributions to American life.

It is easy to overlook the contribution to the build-

ing of the nation that lay in the Negro's daily and often enforced toil. Yet the Negro worker, whether as Mississippi roustabout, cotton picker, or craftsman who laid floors and set panels in old Southern manors, has given his brawn and often his skill to the weaving of the complex fabric of civilization in the Western world.

3. *The Negro's Achievements*

There are various ways by which one might follow the Negro's story through his own creative expression. One gets, for example, a striking sense of the marching host through reading consecutively Frederick Douglass's *My Bondage and My Freedom,* Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery,* W. E. Burghardt Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk,* and James Weldon Johnson's *Along This Way.*

The story is even more striking, perhaps, when followed through the Negro's poetry. The verses of Phillis Wheatley and the other faint voices of the slavery period are plainly imitative and stilted in thought and form. With Paul Laurence Dunbar, the first Negro poet achieved general recognition. But Dunbar felt constrained to express himself for the most part in plantation dialect, and this, while genuine and authentic, more or less limited his subject matter to comedy and pathos.

Negro poetry in its next phase seems to have been distinctly race conscious, and it was addressed largely to a white world. James Corrothers wrote:

> To be a Negro in a day like this—
> Alas! Lord God, what evil have we done? [5]

And one of James Weldon Johnson's earlier poems asks of America:

How would you have us? . . .
. . . . .
Rising or falling? Men or things?
With dragging steps or footsteps fleet?
Strong, willing sinews in your wings
Or tightening chains about your feet? [6]

Following the World War the newer group of Negro poets were inclined to write defiantly. Chief among these was Claude McKay, whose "If We Must Die" is quoted in part in a previous chapter. This note is still found in such verse as Langston Hughes's

O World,
No longer shall you say
With arrogant eyes and tall white head:
"You are my servant, Nigger—
I, the free!"
That day is past— [7]

More recently there has been a significant turn in the Negro poet's psychology comparable to the change in attitude toward the spirituals that occurred some years ago. The present-day poet no longer feels that he must write with one eye on the white gallery, that he must beg favors, put the race's best foot forward, or assume an air of sophistication. Instead, he frankly recognizes the rich vein of Negro folk material and makes wide use of it. This is not the folk material of the plantation long ago done to death, but that of the lusty, rowdy roustabout, the deck hand, the blues singer, the cabaret dancer, the porter or bellhop, the illiterate but eloquent preacher.

Langston Hughes does a poem on brass spittoons and another on eating in the kitchen when company comes.

Again he writes with a nonchalant swagger, "I've been a slave," and boasts that the Negro built the pyramids, kept Caesar's doorstep clean, brushed the boots of Washington, and made the mortar for the Woolworth building!

Sterling Brown writes his "Odyssey of Big Boy" in a new type of dialect. He no longer pictures the Negro of the Southern plantation or the Mississippi levee but a rowdy worker who "done busted suds in l'il New Yawk."

A skilful use of folk material of a different sort appears in *God's Trombones*, a book of Negro sermons in verse by James Weldon Johnson. The best known of these is "The Creation," which begins,

> And God stepped out on space,
> And he looked around and said:
> "I'm lonely—
> I'll make me a world." [8]

Almost as beautiful is "Go Down, Death," and picturesque in its imagery is "Prodigal Son" with the exhortation, "Young man, your arm's too short to box with God." Although no actual dialect is used, this is real folk material. James Weldon Johnson wrote the poems but the Negro people created them.

When the present-day poet talks about the white world—or to it—there is a new note heard. Thus Countee Cullen in a series of "Epitaphs" writes:

> She even thinks that up in heaven
> Her class lies late and snores,
> While poor black cherubs rise at seven
> To do celestial chores.[9]

James Weldon Johnson in his "St. Peter Relates an Incident of the Resurrection Day" builds a narrative poem

around the idea that various patriotic organizations decide to meet on the Resurrection morn to escort the Unknown Soldier to heaven. When the marchers are all gathered round in full regalia the tomb opens and a black soldier steps forth. The self-appointed escorts, having completely overlooked such a possibility, rapidly disperse, while St. Peter looks out to see a

> Tall, black soldier-angel marching alone,
> Swinging up the golden street saluting at the great white throne.[10]

The Negro has been less successful in fiction than in poetry, but the various novels and short stories that have appeared throw an interesting light not only on present-day Negro life but on race psychology as well. Some of the books deal with the problem of the new Negro in the South. Others are of the upper class group in the North, and more recently there have been portrayed the less sophisticated of the Harlemites. They all touch the color line in one fashion or another and several of them deal with the ever present notion of "passing." Among the writers whose books are significant for their picturing of Negro life and psychology are most of the poets previously mentioned, to whom should be added Walter White, Jessie Fauset, Nella Larson, Rudolph Fisher, Jean Toomer, and Zora Hurston.

Outside the field of literature individual Negroes have made names for themselves in various lines. In the realm of serious acting Charles S. Gilpin won distinction in the title rôle of "The Emperor Jones." He was followed by Richard Harrison who played "de Lawd" in "The Green Pastures." More recently Paul Robeson has played in "The Emperor Jones" in this country and in "Othello" in Europe. He also appears on the concert stage.

As a concert singer Roland Hayes still holds first place. He has sung not only folk music but a wide range of other types to enthusiastic audiences here and in Europe.

Harry Burleigh, R. Nathaniel Dett, and J. Rosamond Johnson are known in the field of musical composition, and a few years ago William L. Dawson's Negro Folk Symphony was played by the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra conducted by Leopold Stokowski.

In the field of sculpture Augusta Savage and Meta Warrick Fuller are perhaps the best-known Negroes, and in painting, Henry Oswald Tanner. Mr. Tanner's pictures, based on Biblical themes, have been bought by the Luxembourg Gallery in Paris and the Chicago Art Institute in this country.

Aaron Douglas's murals depicting Negro life are to be found in various buildings, notable among the series being those of the Fisk University library. Anyone who reads modern Negro authors has met Mr. Douglas's striking illustrations in black and white.

Much of the Negro's literary and artistic expression now appears in various magazines. One may find a group of poems by Langston Hughes or Countee Cullen in *Harper's* or *Scribner's* with no particular indication of the author's race. Many persons have doubtless smiled over cartoons and amusing cover pages for *Life*, *Judge*, and *Esquire* without knowing that the modest signature of E. Sims Campbell was that of a Negro.

Some half-dozen Negroes are now listed in *American Men of Science*, among them being Dr. Ernest E. Just, who has received an international reputation for his research in biology, and Dr. George Carver, head of the experimental station at Tuskegee Institute, who has done significant work in agricultural chemistry—work that is of special interest

because of the use he has made of the ordinary materials about him.

In social science one thinks of Charles S. Johnson, founder and former editor of *Opportunity* and now head of the social science department of Fisk University. Dr. Johnson is author or editor of a number of important social studies, most of which have been referred to elsewhere. E. Franklin Frazier is the author of various essays in the social field and of the valuable study, *The Negro Family in Chicago.*

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, who for many years made *The Crisis* one of the most stimulating of American magazines, is now professor of sociology at Atlanta University. He has written essays and fiction, he edited the valuable *Atlanta University Publications* a generation ago, and among various other volumes has published *The Souls of Black Folk, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States,* and *Black Reconstruction.*

Carter G. Woodson, long the editor of *The Journal of Negro History,* has done perhaps more than any other one person to keep the history of the Negro in America from being completely lost. Among his better-known publications are *The Negro in Our History, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, The History of the Negro Church,* and *A Century of Negro Migration.*

Robert Russa Moton, until recently head of Tuskegee Institute, Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University, the late John Hope of Atlanta University, and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune are examples of persons who have been recognized as leaders in Negro education as well as successful administrators of Negro schools. Ambrose Caliver is senior specialist in the education of Negroes in the Office of Education, U. S. Department of the Interior.

Alain Locke, professor of philosophy at Howard Uni-

versity, was editor of the volume *The New Negro*. Benjamin Brawley, professor of English, is the author of *A Social History of the American Negro* and *The Negro in Literature and Art in the United States*. William Stanley Braithwaite, reviewer and literary critic, issues each year an anthology of magazine verse.

James Weldon Johnson once served as secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and later was United States Consul in Venezuela and Nicaragua. He is at present professor of creative literature at Fisk University and is the author of poems, social studies, and fiction.

4. *Within Two Worlds*

Confronted with a Negro other than a servant or laborer, the average white person, North or South, is acutely uncomfortable. He can never quite get used to the fact that there are various social and economic levels among Negroes and that the Negro college president and the colored cook do not find themselves any more congenial than would two white persons at a similar distance apart in the social scale.

This combination of ignorance and embarrassment causes white speakers to regale Negro audiences (who do not always remain to listen) with yarns about Negro preachers or Sam and Rastus stories, with heavy emphasis on watermelons, sweet potatoes, possums and henhouses. Or they think to establish rapport with their audiences by touching references to a dear old black mammy or the fact that they now have a trusted Negro servant. Like the unfortunate preacher who found that he could think of nothing but ropes in the presence of his parishioner whose husband had just hanged himself, the white man in the presence of

the Negro seems possessed with an uncontrollable impulse to sing "Old Black Joe." There is perhaps not one white person in a thousand who can meet an educated Negro naturally and talk as one human being to another without an inhibiting consciousness of color.

The Negro is always confronted with the implication that he belongs to an inferior race. Quite often he believes this to be true, accepts as fact that he cannot compete with a white world, and settles down to mediocrity. Sometimes he is afraid it is true and he enters into passionate and absurd attempts to build up for his race a fictitious past of glory and grandeur. Even when he is wise enough to know that he and his people are neither better nor worse than others with like opportunities and incentives, he is annoyed and harassed by a white world's agitation about him. Sentimental friends of the race say actually or by implication, "Isn't that good *for a Negro?*" He is seldom given the opportunity for normal competition with his fellows. There are either peculiar difficulties on the one hand or special concessions on the other.

It should not be necessary to add that there is at present no evidence that justifies classifying the major races of the world in any order of inferiority or superiority. In every comparison, from brain weight to intelligence tests, there is much overlapping between Negro and white groups; although in total scores whites may average slightly higher than Negroes, the difference is seldom significant and there are always many Negroes who outrank many whites.

Nevertheless the belief persists that the Negroes are an inferior racial group, and this belief profoundly affects the attitude of the Negro toward himself as well as the attitude of the white world toward him. The Negro always feels that whatever he does will not only be used against him,

so to speak, but also against his whole race. This feeling does diverse things. It affects the kind of poetry the Negro writes and it may make a Negro woman sensitive about indulging a purely personal taste for red dresses. It has helped to make of the educated Negro and particularly of the educated mulatto what one sociologist has aptly called a "marginal man."

The marginal man really stands between two worlds. In economic and intellectual achievements and in social habits he has moved beyond the masses of the subordinate group and finds himself culturally more at one with the dominant group than with the majority of his own race. Yet because he still bears the visible marks of his origin, the white world refuses to accept him. He thus fits into neither world. Such a divided relationship tends to produce a highly disorganized personality that is restless, sensitive, unadjusted, and often bitter or cynical. It is sometimes thought that these characteristics are the result of race mixture, but they seem rather to be a product of the situation, though the fact of race mixture accentuates the problem by creating a third and intermediate physical type. The pure black who has had educational and cultural opportunities may, however, be as much a marginal man as his mulatto neighbor.

Among the dilemmas confronting the marginal man is that of voluntary, or what one writer calls compensatory, segregation. Negroes have argued the question for years. There is no answer, for whatever the choice, a penalty follows. The question of schools furnishes perhaps the most obvious illustration. The largest professional group of Negroes are the teachers—more than fifty thousand of them—who, with an insignificant number of exceptions, teach in segregated schools. A number of public school teachers and a few principals in the city school systems of the North are

colored, but not one Negro holds an outstanding position, and for a colored man to hold a full professorship in anything but a Negro college or university is practically unknown. Negro doctors generally find themselves limited to Negro hospitals, and there are few non-Negro business concerns in which a colored man stands any chance at all of rising to an executive position, particularly if authority over white persons is involved.

The Negro feels that in the long run a segregated institution of any kind tends to perpetuate a dual system in which the "separate but equal accommodation" is usually pure myth. To make a complete world within a world is impossible, and the segregated group finds itself either with the leftovers or with nothing at all. The Negro thus feels bound to fight segregation, and yet if he is consistent he finds himself doubly cheated. He is thus in the curious position of asking for complete acceptance into American life and in the next breath of appealing to his people to support a Negro newspaper or raising funds for a colored hospital.

This inconsistency is not a willful one; it is an element in the struggle for existence in a bi-racial world where the alternatives are compromise or die—sometimes literally as well as figuratively. This unending battle, this balancing of values, the humiliation of compromise, the frustration of being forced to choose between two evils, uses up a vast amount of time and emotional energy that the Negro should be free to pour into more constructive channels.

A second result of the educated Negro's marginal position is an extreme sensitiveness which sometimes puzzles his friends and puts added weapons into the hands of his enemies. Having had his toes stepped on so many times the Negro is peculiarly conscious of the presence of hob-nailed boots. The situation is complicated by the American habit

of classifying all Negroes according to stereotypes, as, for instance, criminals, brutes, shiftless loafers, or laughing, good-natured, banjo-strumming, watermelon-eating "darkies."

While the Negro peasant usually accepts his lot along with other things not to be questioned, the marginal man, particularly one who is only emerging from the peasant ranks, may make almost frantic efforts to conform to the dominant world's pattern. Mention has been made of a color class within the Negro group. Of course, the "passing" into the white group and the desire to marry a lighter person than oneself is sometimes due to the simple fact that a dark skin in America is inconvenient, but a part of it roots back into an upbringing in a dominant white world that despises everything black.

The really emancipated Negro is the one who has sufficient historical perspective and balanced sense of values to be able to detach himself from the situation and view it objectively. He finds American color prejudice inconvenient and annoying but he does not burn up more energy over it than he does over other unpleasantnesses. He fights racial injustice but in no different fashion from that in which he opposes economic injustice. Such objectivity is not easily achieved by persons of any race, and not many Negroes have attained it. It thus comes about that the really sophisticated folk at the top and the completely unsophisticated folk at the bottom are the least race conscious. They are the two groups who can most enjoy the Negro spirituals and other genuine folk material, one because it is still a part of his life and the other because he is far enough away from it to see it apart from himself.

A part of this racial self-consciousness expresses itself in an extreme personal sensitiveness to certain terms that are associated with the slave status or that have come to have

contemptuous connotations. Among the terms producing the most violent reactions are "nigger," "darkey," "pickaninny," and "negress." Almost as much in disrepute is the pronouncing of "Negro" as if it were spelled "Niggra." One Negro writer attributes this pronunciation to a compromise on the part of white persons who are not willing to go all the way from "nigger" to "Negro." This explanation is doubtless correct for some persons, but most Southerners who say "Niggra" do it unconsciously and for the same reason that they slur their *r*'s and drop their final *g*'s. It is a slovenly speech habit and may have nothing to do with racial attitudes.

"Nigger" is an uncouth word and has come to have so many contemptuous associations that it is fast being eliminated by thoughtful and well bred people. "Darkey" belongs with folk material and when so used seldom carries any intention of offense. "Pickaninny" seems to have been taken over from a Portuguese term meaning simply "a little one." It is a word that seems expressive of peasant childhood and should not be spoiled. "Negress" is an unnecessary word but often used with no intention of offense. Its comparison to "lioness" seems a little strained. Are "princess" and "Jewess" equally offensive? The slave term was more often "wench" than "Negress."

Negroes have not been able to agree on a term by which they would like to have the racial group designated. "Colored people" is preferred by many, even though it has different meanings in different parts of the world. One Negro newspaper insists on the term "Race man," but the expression is meaningless without an accompanying explanation. While some people have objections to the word "Negro," it seems to be the most generally accepted term. There is an increasing tendency to pronounce the word properly and

to capitalize it as a term comparable to "Caucasian," "Mongolian," and other words signifying a racial group.[11]

There are two kinds of people who use terms offensive to Negroes. One kind is unaware that the terms are objectionable and the efforts of both white and colored writers and speakers are changing the habits of these folk. The other folk mean to be contemptuous and the fact that the Negro makes a "fighting fury" reaction to certain words merely plays into their hands. Perhaps both wisdom and progress lie with those who can follow the example of the small daughter of one nationally known Negro leader. A white child, new to the group and angered by some incident in their play, turned upon the colored child and said scornfully, "Your papa's a nigger, your mamma's a nigger, your little brother's a nigger, and *you're* a nigger." The colored child looked surprised but a trifle bored. "Sure," she said; "what of it?"

5. *Learning to Live Together*

People once assumed that the Negro was different from other folk, that certain characteristics and habits were "born in him," and therefore nothing could be done about the situation. Moreover, it was assumed that white people were born with prejudice toward colored races. It is now known that most of the so-called racial traits and the prejudice are largely, if not altogether, the result of what is called cultural conditioning; that is, they are learned from one's surroundings. Behavior that is learned can be unlearned or changed, and the conditions causing such behavior can be modified so that at least some of the causes of conflict and prejudice may be removed.

There have been numerous methods proposed as solutions to the race problem. The suggestions made by Negroes

themselves at one time or another include an exodus, the forming of a forty-ninth state, the creation of a black government in the area in which the Negroes form the largest per cent of the population, an attempt to gain their rights by force, and complete voluntary segregation—that is, the creating of a duplicate set of economic and social machinery. When these proposals are examined in the light of a realistic situation each one appears to be practically impossible. James Weldon Johnson in summarizing these proposed solutions points out the fact that the Negro, to achieve anything like full manhood and womanhood, must ultimately become a normal part of our national life so that his opportunities will be determined by his personal worth and not on the basis of his race or color.[12]

Increasingly present-day Negroes are deciding that they want neither handicaps nor special concessions; that they want merely a chance on the same basis that other folks have; and that it is probably up to them to go after it themselves. At the same time there is a growing realization that the Negro's welfare is bound up with problems which white men and colored men must solve together. Even white and colored sharecroppers are beginning to see that their common economic injustices are of more importance than their differences in color.

During the past twenty-five or more years a number of organizations have developed which are serving as channels for Negro-white cooperation in the field of economic justice and race adjustment. The National Urban League has given its major emphasis to social welfare, economic problems, and community organization, particularly as they affect the welfare of Negroes in certain cities.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People gives its major attention to the securing of the

Negro's legal and civil rights and has sponsored federal anti-lynching legislation.

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, under the leadership of W. W. Alexander, has rendered significant service in the South in arousing Southern white people to active opposition to the lynching evil and in its program of education carried on in cooperation with colleges, high schools, and churches. Associated with the commission or sponsored by it have been the Southern Association for the Prevention of Lynching, a similar but wider organization of women, and the Peabody Conferences on Education and Race Relations.

Various religious organizations have concerned themselves in one way or another with the Negro's welfare and with a program of better race relations. Both the Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Christian Association are interracial in character, and trained Negroes serve on their national staffs. Significant among the activities of the Y.M.C.A. has been the contact between white and colored youth groups carried out by Max Yergan in Africa and Channing Tobias in this country.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has a Department of Race Relations, with a Negro, Dr. George E. Haynes, as its secretary. The department sponsors special studies and national and local interracial conferences, and carries on an educational program through church federations and denominational agencies.

There are many people who feel that the most promising agencies for better racial understanding are the Christian churches. James Weldon Johnson in his *Negro Americans, What Now?* states that "the Negro church is the most powerful and, potentially, the most effective medium we possess." It is certainly true that in the areas where most

Negroes live both white and colored people place high value on the church as a social institution. Yet it must be remembered that in highly churched areas lynchings occur, that the local church leaders are all too often silent in such cases, and that almost nowhere in the South is it possible for white and colored people to worship together. Even in Northern areas the Negro is almost wholly segregated in his church life.

It is true, however, that significant steps in race relations have been taken, particularly in the South, and that in these steps the churches and the colleges have led the way. In earlier days there was a tendency for these interracial activities to take the form of a paternalistic missionary effort of the white churches in behalf of Negroes of the less privileged class. More recently, progressive Southern church bodies have moved into the field of genuine cooperation with the more advanced Negro groups in a common effort for Negro welfare and racial justice.

Southern Methodist women have long disregarded the traditional taboos in their church-wide missionary gatherings, and Southern women of every denomination have entered the fight against lynching. There are church colleges and community centers in the South with Southern bi-racial faculties and staffs where no segregation or discrimination exists. A Negro college debating team recently met the white team of a Texas college on the white college campus and reported not only gracious treatment but eulogies by local newspapers. Student interracial conferences are no longer novelties, and where the groups can control their own dining-room facilities the Negro guest at mealtimes is a matter of course. Southern Sunday schools and many church and state colleges regularly offer courses on race relations and in a recent survey it was found that

Southern students had written approximately one hundred master's and doctor's theses in this field.

It would be the height of folly to suppose that such brief stirrings represent any long strides toward the elimination of prejudice and discrimination. There are still lynchings and the lynchers still go unpunished. There are the Scottsboro cases and the chain-gang horrors, the peonage of sharecroppers and "legal lynchings." There are still doors closed in the Negro's face in every state in the Union. Yet when viewed over the years the march has been upward. As history goes, it has been a swift-moving pageant, and while the struggle still goes on and will go on for a long time to come, at least it is on a different level from that of twenty years ago, or ten, or five. Perhaps then, in spite of existing conditions, the Negro poet is justified in writing:

> We have tomorrow
> Bright before us
> Like a flame
> Yesterday, a night gone thing
> A sun-down name
> And dawn today
> Broad arch above the road we came,
> We march! [13]

A Postscript for White Americans

IN this book I have tried to step outside of race and to tell the story of the Negro as objectively and impersonally as possible. I have tried to forget my own color, the place of my birth, the nature of my training, and even the potential readers of this book. There are no personal pronouns in its pages, no words meant specifically for either white or Negro readers, no special emphasis on the place of the church or any other institution. Moreover, *The Story of the American Negro* properly ended in the last chapter. The facts in the case cannot go beyond the present: prophecy, prediction, warning, or admonition does not belong in the narrative.

I am keenly aware, however, that many readers will not wish to stop with things as they are. To people who are at all concerned with human welfare there is always the question of what may be. Moreover, the story really is not ended. It goes on today and down through repeated tomorrows, and we of this generation, black and white, will live the story of those days and years. In addressing this postscript to white Americans I am not unmindful of the fact that the future lies with both white and colored people. The story of the American Negro, in the future, as in the past, will be that of a minority people in the midst of a larger group. James Weldon Johnson in his recent book entitled *Negro Americans, What Now?* suggests ways in which he thinks Negroes themselves may make progress toward a more normal integration into American life. He

advocates, on a purely practical basis, a self-respecting but cooperative procedure. He recognizes that for a minority group to use what has been called a hammer-and-tongs technique is to ignore both the findings of individual psychology and the processes of social change. To attempt to enlarge on Mr. Johnson's suggestions to Negroes would be presumption on my part. Yet I hope that through the pages of this book Negro Americans along with white Americans may have been helped to understand a little better why both white and colored people feel as they do each toward the other race, and that it may perhaps be a little clearer that the problems involved are not so much those arising from innate differences in whites and Negroes as from a difference in "dominant race" traits and "minority group" attitudes.

This Postscript is addressed to white Americans; further, it is intended mainly for members of the Christian church who profess to follow the humble Carpenter who staked his life on the sacredness and worth of human personality. An eminent sociologist and student of race has said that he has no concern with solving the race problem; he leaves that to those who know less about it. I suspect that the sociologist made his statement after having heard once too often the perfectly safe generalization that if we would only apply the teachings of Jesus everything would be all right. But to solve the race problem by applying the teachings of Jesus would involve at least three things: an understanding of what the teachings of Jesus really are, a knowledge of how these principles can be applied to a complex social problem, and the ability to get people at large to subordinate personal ends in a commitment to those principles. And that, I take it, leaves the problem about as difficult as it was in the beginning.

The fact that the problem is difficult and that we may not see quite clearly what the solution is does not mean that progress cannot be made toward a fairer and more just basis of living together. It is surely true that the cultural, civic, and educational opportunities of the Negro can be increased; that white and colored people can be taught to hold more reasonable attitudes toward one another; that some of the causes of prejudice and injustice can be removed; and that techniques for adjusting differences can be worked out.

There is perhaps no point at which the Christian church faces a greater challenge than in this area of race relations. The church has never been passive, but it has too often adjusted itself to the common pattern of thought rather than leading such thought into more progressive channels. We have seen that four hundred years ago the slaver could thank God for success in kidnapping the inhabitants of an African village. Seventy-five years ago Christian ministers defended slavery on Biblical grounds. Today it is safe to say that there are from one to five churches in every town where a lynching has occurred in the past twenty-five years.

On the other hand, it has been Christian people who through the years have led the way toward fuller opportunities for colored people. In the colonial period it was the Christian ministers who taught the schools for Negroes, and the Quakers, the Methodists and the "emancipating Baptists" who dared attack the institution of slavery itself. Following the Civil War it was the church which sent hundreds of men and women into the South to open schools and to begin a stupendous missionary task among an ignorant and helpless people.

In more recent years it has been church people who have made up the interracial committees, the associations to pre-

vent lynchings, and the bodies sponsoring various cooperative projects. It is in the Sunday schools, the summer camps and conferences and through the religious press that the white people, particularly in the South, have come to face more fully the implications of a bi-racial social organization. It is today the church which supports, in the main, the mission schools for Negroes that only in small measure compensate for the shameless lack of public provision for Negro education.

The real challenge, however, lies beyond. The day is past when Negroes will be grateful for the crumbs which fall from the white man's table. It was a Southern bishop speaking to a Southern audience who set the keynote of a new day in this fashion: " 'The white man's burden' was simply one of those pious phrases of Nordic egotism which covers up a shameless economic and territorial imperialism. . . . The white man's burden became the black man's cross. . . . To be a pirate is bad enough, but to be a smug international brigand in the name of God is blasphemy." [1]

The Christian church has within it the possibility of leadership in writing tomorrow's story of the Negro. It professes a belief in the essential oneness of the human family, a faith in the divine potentialities of all humankind, a commitment to the way of love, and an allegiance to a Teacher who placed at the heart of his message a respect for human personality. This potential leadership of the church will not be realized by evasion, halfway measures, pious wishes, or sentimental generalities. If the church is to lead the way it not only must attack boldly such overt evils as lynching but it must dig to the roots of the philosophy which underlies discrimination and makes lynchings possible. It must not be content with supporting mission schools and community centers but must face the fact of

racial attitudes and practices which deny the Negro the full use of public schools, libraries, and other cultural facilities. Both the church as an institution and the individual Christian sooner or later must face the fact that paternalism, enforced segregation, injustice, and discrimination based on race are out of harmony with the basic assumptions of Christian belief. Whether the church of tomorrow shall lead in the field of race relations depends on its willingness to make a courageous choice.

Notes and References

SPECIFIC references are given only by the author's name or by an identifying title where there is more than one volume by a single author. Complete titles listed by author, together with publishers and dates, will be found in the general bibliography, pages 189-197. Books of special interest to the general reader are starred (*).

CHAPTER ONE: THE NEGRO COMES TO AMERICA

The material in this chapter is based, for the most part, on diaries, notes, records and documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some of which have been collected by Elizabeth Donnan into four volumes entitled *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America.* Among the more important documents quoted are those of William Bosman, chief factor of the Dutch West India Company (1701); John Barbot (French), agent general of the Royal Company of Africa (1678); Gomes de Azurara, whose *Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* was written in 1453; John Atkins, surgeon general of the (British) Royal Navy (1735); C. B. Wadstrom, Swedish scientist who visited Africa (1787); William Snelgrave, slave captain (1734); and Thomas Phillips, ship captain (1693). As most of this material is out of print in its original form and accessible only in volumes of collected documents, the references are given by the writer's name followed by page references to the collection in which they may be found.

Among the other sources used are Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-42," in the Annual Report of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, Vol. XIV, Part I, 1892-93; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America;* Channing, **History of the United States;* Clarkson, *History of the African Slave Trade, Essay on Slavery, Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave Trade;* Buxton, *The African Slave Trade: Part II, The Remedy;* Claridge, **A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti;* Phillips (ed.), *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society,* Vols. I-II; Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States.*

There is very little reliable material on this period in form suited

for general reading, though the Donnan collection of documents contains many fascinating passages.

1. The Census figure for 1930 was 11,891,143.
2. Portugal was importing slaves by 1444 and Spain by 1470. They seem to have been well treated, trained, and often adopted or married into European families.
3. A detailed account of the search for the Seven Cities is given by Winship, 329 ff. This material is based on a translation of Pedro de Castenado's account. Castenado, who was with Coronado, pictures Estevan as the hero of the story.
4. See Winship, 379-592; Winsor, III, 65; Donnan, I, 58.
5. The domestic slavery in Africa before the days of the slave trade was more in the nature of serfdom than slavery, as it later developed. See Claridge, I, 376, 443; also Fitzgerald, 84.
6. At the close of the eighteenth century there were forty European slave forts or "factories" on the west coast of Africa; fourteen were English, fifteen Dutch, three French, four Portuguese, and four Danish. Spain had no holdings in Africa for the same reason that Portugal had no claims in America except Brazil. In 1493 the Pope had divided the heathen world between these two countries, and Spain had to depend on other countries to deliver slaves to her colonies. See Ingram; Claridge, I, 36-37; Hart, *Essentials in American History*, 33-37. For the source of slaves imported to the United States see Claridge, I, 39; Donnan, I, 95, and II, xxvi.
7. Ingram estimates that out of one hundred slaves shipped from Africa not more than fifty lived to be effective laborers, and this does not account for those who died of famine, exhaustion, or violence in the raids and march to the coast. At the "factories" on the coast they were examined by the ships' surgeons who rejected the unfit and branded the others with the owner's mark.
8. One king wrote Granville Sharp that four of his relatives had been stolen in this fashion. For this and other cases see Donnan, II, 330, 490, 618-620; and Claridge, I, 67.
9. Wadstrom, in Donnan, II, 599 ff., reported that many of the captives were "people of distinction such as princes, priests, and persons of high office." Atkins, in Donnan, II, 270-290, says that a king unable to get slaves otherwise "marches an army and depopulates." An unlimited amount of evidence points to the fact that most of the slaves were prisoners of war, many were well born, and a few were of high rank.
10. Claridge gives the details of numerous such tribal conflicts, sometimes stirred up to secure slaves but often fostered by one trad-

ing company in order to injure a rival's trade. One English trader gives his method of securing slaves as "dramming well with English spirits."

11. See, respectively, Barbot in Donnan, I, 284, 306, and in III, 138. See also Clarkson, *History of the African Slave Trade*, 340.
12. Phillips in Donnan, I, 402-403. In spite of precautions taken, every account of the period has its quota of stories of mutinies and they appear to have been more frequent than is generally supposed.
13. See Atkins in Donnan, II, 280; Barbot in Donnan, I, 290, and II, 361; Claridge, I, 74. Clarkson, *op. cit.*, 223.
14. Quotation from Clarkson, *op. cit.*, 450. The drowning took place on the *Zong* in 1781. See Donnan II, 555-593. The losses on the different ships varied enormously, and men both lost and made fortunes in the trade.
15. Azurara in Donnan, I, 22. See also Claridge, I, 44 ff.
16. Quoted in Donnan, I, 44-57, from the voyages of John Hawkins in Hakluyt's *Voyages*.
17. For these accounts see Winsor, II, 60-65, and Donnan, I, 69.
18. Quoted in Donnan, III, 6-8. See also Mary S. Locke, 13-14, and Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 31.
19. Barbot in Donnan, I, 286. See also 324, and Claridge, I, 170.
20. Forbes, I, 64-68.
21. An extended account of the "Loss of the Oswego" appears in Buxton, Part II, 171-182. The notion of racial inferiority seems to have developed earlier in America than in England. See Russell, 124-125, and Ballagh, 48-58.
22. Quoted in Donnan, II, 508.
23. Donnan, I, 156-169; Claridge, I, 119-120; Beard, I, 106.

CHAPTER TWO: LOOKING BACK TO AFRICA

The material in this chapter is based largely on Ratzel, *History of Mankind;* the books of Maurice Delafosse, the one quoted and referred to being his **Negroes of Africa;* the various works of Captain R. S. Rattray, especially **The Ashanti;* Claridge, **History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti;* Felix Dubois, **Timbuctu the Mysterious;* Lady Lugard, **A Tropical Dependency;* and Hambly, *Ethnology of Africa.*

Ratzel's work has long been standard in its field. Delafosse was formerly a governor in French Africa and professor of the Colonial School and the School of Oriental Languages, Paris. As an administrator and an anthropologist, he lived in West Africa for

seventeen years. Rattray, who was a member of the British Gold Coast Political Service before being appointed head of the government Department of Anthropology for the Gold Coast, has both a thorough training in anthropology and familiarity with the native language. Claridge is an Englishman and senior officer of the West African Medical Staff. Felix Dubois, a Frenchman, visited Timbuctu and secured some of the old Arabic volumes which are now in the French National Library. Hambly is assistant curator of African ethnology of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. The growing interest in these forgotten African cultures is evidenced by two books recently issued by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures: *Caravans of the Old Sahara,* by E. W. Bovill, and *Une Cité Soudainaise: Djenné* (Jenné), by Charles Monteil. Both books were published recently in Europe and have not been available to the writer.

1. For a map and brief descriptions of African explorations see Hambly, 4-14; also Claridge, I, 36.
2. Ratzel, III, 95. Ratzel (II, 242-243) says that wheat, maize, barley, rice, potatoes, cattle, sheep, goats and pigs were not found in Africa in the wild state. For a description of the geographical factors making for isolation, see Fitzgerald.
3. See Ratzel, II, 313; III, 104-106. Ratzel throws an interesting light on the growth of the idea of justifying slavery on the basis of the inferiority of Negroes when he says (III, note on 106), "The 'caricature' Negro type was a comparatively late production. In early art, and in the older books of travel, the Negro is represented as a person of pleasing features but black complexion."
4. Timbuctu was founded by the Tuareg in 1087. It was two hundred years later before a real town was built under a black Mandingo king. Lady Lugard (112-114) refers to the days when "black poets were welcomed at the court of Cordova, and the University of Timbuctu exchanged knowledge with the universities of Spain."
5. For a discussion of the peoples of this region see Lugard, 21-25, 99; Felix Dubois, 115-117; Delafosse, 214-279; and Ratzel, III, 277.
6. Felix Dubois, 285-302, 309, 312. Ahmed Baba said he had a smaller library than any of his friends and the soldiers took from him 1600 volumes.
7. For an account of these kingdoms see Delafosse, 59-71. Delafosse also says (69) that this empire was "founded and directed by Negroes of probably pure race." Ratzel, III, 301-302, says, "The talented Mandingoes are among the ugliest of the Negroes . . .

but they are in culture the most highly developed of the west Sudan peoples." For other accounts of the friendly relationship and sumptuous presents exchanged by these Negro kings and their white neighbors see Lugard, 75-77, 127-129, 141; also Hambly, 24.

8. Delafosse says (82-85), "The intervention of this scum of Europe was one of the saddest blows that had been given the Sudanese civilization." See also Lugard, 79, 189, 294, 320.
9. Henry. Green (15-16, 18) reminds us that even in later years English captives were sold in the marketplace of Rome and "sometimes a father pressed by need sold children and wife into bondage."
10. Claridge, I, 289, 359; Rattray, *The Ashanti*, 135.
11. Forbes, I, 135-136.
12. See Forbes, I, 2-3, 64-68, 76, and Appendix A, 181-191. The native kings seemed to have observed scrupulously a recognized code in regard to strangers. See A. B. Ellis, 120-121.
13. Murdock, 563-574, 581; Forbes, I, 26-30; A. B. Ellis, 156; Delafosse, 99-100.
14. Hambly, 76-82; Delafosse, 255; Rattray, *op. cit.*, 300-315. Rattray gives pages of photographs of the delicate and beautiful work of the Ashanti goldsmiths—work to which it is impossible to do justice in a verbal description. Some of the brass weights may be seen in the Field Museum in Chicago.
15. Rattray, "The African Child," in *Africa*, October, 1933, 465. For Dahomean prayers for children see Herskovits, *An Outline of Dahomean Religious Belief*, 39; Delafosse, 201.
16. Rattray, *The Ashanti*, 2. Delafosse says, "The wife does not legally cease to belong to her own family and in no wise becomes the property of the husband." See also A. B. Ellis, 199.
17. Rattray, *op. cit.*, 84; see also, *Tribes of Ashanti Hinterland*, 143, 152.
18. References from various sources are quoted in Phillips, *A Documentary History*, II, 127-133; Donnan, I, 293, 398; Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 70.

CHAPTER THREE: THE COLONIAL PATTERN OF SLAVERY

Various sources on slavery in the colonial period are accessible to the general reader. Channing's *A History of the United States*, Vol. II, and Charles and Mary Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization*, Vol. I, both give the historical background. More detailed treatment of conditions will be found in Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia;*

Ballagh, *A History of Slavery in Virginia;* Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina;* and Cooley, *A Study of Slavery in New Jersey*. General treatment of the period will be found in Hart, *Slavery and Abolition;* Beer, *The Old Colonial System*, Part I, Vol. I; Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, and *The Negro in Our History*. A good general summary will be found in Brawley, *A Social History of the American Negro*, and a clear presentation of the economic and geographic factors in setting the slavery pattern may be found in Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States.*

1. Adams, *America's Tragedy*, 2. See also *ibid.*, 54.
2. Russell, 23-33.
3. For discussions of conditions in this period see Channing, II, 324 ff.; Beard, I, 103 ff.; Bassett, Russell, Cooley, and Ballagh.
4. Mary S. Locke, 16-20, quoting *The Selling of Joseph* and the *Athenian Oracle* of Chief Justice Sewall. Sewall insisted that the Negro should be treated with "Respect Agreeable" and not "Rated with Horses and Hogs." He reports that his books brought "Some Frowns and Hard Words."
5. Donnan, II, 650. The early records of the slave trading companies contain numerous such references; for example, "shipped by the grace of God," and "perform your dayly dutie unto Almightie God, that so we may expect a blessing upon your endeavor." See Donnan, I, 126-129.
6. Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 27-38; Merriam, 6. The voyage of a typical American slave ship had three legs, that from Africa to the West Indies or the Southern states being known as the Middle Passage.
7. Du Bois, *op. cit.*, 20-25. See also Channing, II, 396.
8. For these various accounts see Du Bois, *op. cit.*, 7-25; Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, 44-56; Channing, II, 389-392; Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, 51.
9. See Reuter, *The American Race Problem*, 7-9.
10. Phillips, *op. cit.*, 192-194. *Idem*, *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, II, 31, quotes from C. C. Robin in *Voyages de la Louisiana* a description of the care given the Negroes in the breaking-in period, dictated "not by sentiment but by interest." Those who "require hard labor of these fresh Negroes, exhaust them quickly, lose them by sickness and more often by grief. Often they hasten their own death; some wound themselves, others stifle themselves . . . others take poison or flee and perish of misery and hunger."
11. Bassett, 27-44, 56, 57; Cooley, 50-51. The branding of slaves con-

tinued well into the nineteenth century. All through the period there were advertisements of rewards for bringing in the heads of outlawed slaves. There are frequent references to organized hunts for the runaways who hid in swamps and emerged from time to time to raid neighboring plantations for supplies. There are numerous advertisements of "stock and breeding Negroes" and of Negroes, livestock and furniture to be sold at auction. See Bancroft, 697; Phillips, *A Documentary History*, II, 54; Brawley, *Social History*, 25. See also Channing, II, 377-383; Ballagh, 78-81.

12. Brawley, *op. cit.*, 52-56; Beard, I, 274; Russell, 110-111; Hart, in *Social and Economic Forces*, 138-140, reminds one that the Revolution was really a civil war and that both rebels and loyalists held slaves. Moreover, the colonists claimed that England forced the slave trade upon them. It is not surprising that the Negro's loyalty was divided.
13. Du Bois (ed.), *The Negro Church*, 7-9; Mary S. Locke, 14-16; Channing, II, 378. That it was an advantage to the Negroes to be brought into the light of the gospel was a common argument for the slave trade. Even George Whitefield argued in favor of bringing them "within reach of those means of grace which would make them partake of a liberty far more precious than freedom of the body." See Woodson, *Education of the Negro*, 18-27, 48-50, 119. Practically every colony thought it necessary to reassure the slave holder at this point. See Ballagh, 47.
14. For these accounts see Du Bois, *op. cit.*, 12-20; Woodson, *History of the Negro Church*, 6-40, and *Education of the Negro*, 43-72, 81-82.
15. See Woodson, *History of the Negro Church*, 40-69; *Education of the Negro*, 80-91.
16. Duyckiuck, 367-371; Brawley, *Social History*, 10-33.
17. The story of Job is quaintly told by Bluett. It was published in 1734. There is also an account in Donnan, II.
18. Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 48-50.

CHAPTER FOUR: SLAVERY AS AN INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

There is a wealth of illuminating material on the period of national slavery. Vivid first-hand accounts of the period may be found in Smedes, *A Southern Planter;* Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation;* Olmstead, *The Cotton Kingdom;* and Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom.* These, in the order named, were written by the daughter of a Southern planter, a Northern

woman married to a planter, a Northern investigator, and a fugitive slave. To these may be added Bassett, *The Plantation Overseer as Revealed in His Letters.*

The economic and social factors in the development of slavery as an industrial system are discussed in Hammond, **The Rise of Modern Industry;* Vance, **Human Geography of the South;* Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System.*

For discussion of the accommodation of subordinate groups under various circumstances see Reuter (ed.), **Race and Culture Contacts;* Park, *Racial Assimilation in Secondary Groups;* and Maunier's *Sociologie Coloniale.*

Other valuable sources are Johnson, **Shadow of the Plantation;* Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, **Life and Labor in the Old South*, and *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (ed.); Odum, *An American Epoch;* Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South;* Adams, **America's Tragedy;* Woodson, *History of the Negro Church.*

1. For a discussion of the rôle of the frontier and the conditions that tend to develop farms instead of plantations see Phillips (ed.), *A Documentary History*, I, 45-47, 70-84. An illuminating discussion of the "open resources" under which slavery tends to develop is found in Nieboer. See also Thompson, 6-11, 41. It is important to note that South Carolina's plantation system was patterned after that of the West Indies. The unhealthful conditions of the rice plantations led to an absentee system and development of towns.
2. Hammond, 78-80, 181-183; Bancroft, 10; Phillips, *op. cit.*, I, 39.
3. Although the national government was not to outlaw the foreign slave trade until 1808, by 1798 all the states had either prohibitive duties or laws against it. See Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 9-11, 71-74, 85-93; Bancroft, 3-4. The landing of the slave ship, *The Wanderer*, in Savannah in 1859 was reported with approval by several Southern newspapers and the Africans were described. See Phillips, *op. cit.*, II, 54-55.
4. Bancroft, 11-12, 67-68; Phillips, *op. cit.*, I, 85-90. For a vivid picture of the trek south and west, see Odum, 19-20. For advertisements of Negroes, see Phillips, *op. cit.*, II, 57-58. It was estimated in 1831 that Virginia alone sent as many as 6,000 slaves to the other Southern states.
5. Smedes.
6. Kemble.
7. Olmstead, II, 9-29, 68-83.
8. Phillips suggests that half the slaves were owned or hired in units

of twenty or less, and perhaps half of this number were serving as help on small farms or in towns. See his *Life and Labor in the Old South*, 257.

9. Cooley, 41-42; Phillips, *op. cit.*, 163-164, 180. In 1818 a planter advertised in a New Bern, N. C., paper a reward for the head of an outlawed slave. In 1827 reference was made in another paper to a "nest" of runaway Negroes which was broken up by a hunt organized for that purpose. See Phillips, *A Documentary History*, II, 87, 90-91. During this period lynchings, which had been a frontier problem, became increasingly applied to Negroes. Fifty-six cases are recorded between 1823 and 1860. See Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, 8-11.
10. Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, 64, 140; Odum, 34. Some plantation owners had detailed rules for the guidance of the overseer.
11. Douglass, *op. cit.*, 143, 171, 267-268.
12. Woodson, *History of the Negro Church*, 28-39, 40-69, 123-166; Weatherford and Johnson, 208; Ballagh, 112-114.
13. For discussions regarding the place of the "poor whites," see Vance, 464-467; Lewinson, 6-12; and Odum.
14. The loyalty, faithfulness, and devotion of the slaves was a common pro-slavery argument offered as proof that the system was not evil. See Ballagh, 99, and Smedes. That the bond between slave and master was often strong and affectionate there is no doubt. It was the implications of the arguments that were overlooked.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE BREAKDOWN OF SLAVERY

Summaries of the social and economic conditions of this period may be found in Adams, **The March of Democracy*, I, and Beard, **The Rise of American Civilization*, I. The political situation is discussed in Lewinson, **Race, Class and Party*. Brawley, in his **A Social History of the American Negro*, gives an account of the colonization schemes and the various insurrections. The religious and educational situation is treated in Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, and *A History of the Negro Church*. Siebert, **The Underground Railroad*, gives a detailed account of the fugitive slaves and their helpers.

1. Brawley, *A Social History of the American Negro*, 80-84. See Adams, *The March of Democracy*, I, 261, 278, 294, 316, 330, for relative population growth in North and South and social and economic conditions of this period.

2. Weatherford and Johnson, 241; Russell, 40-41. Reuter, in *The Mulatto in the United States*, says that the mulatto was largely a city product and that intermixture was more common in the towns than on the plantations. Of the relations of slave owners with the slave woman he says, "That it was a uniform custom of the slave owning class there is no reason to believe; that it was common in certain regions there is no reason to doubt."
3. Russell, 127, 156, 160, 167-168. Conditions varied in the South, of course. In the border states the free Negro had fair opportunities. In the cotton states he had little opportunity for freedom, much less for advancement.
4. For these various accounts see Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, 172; *A Documentary History*, I, 368; Russell, 92-109, 136-159. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, 85-87. Woodson, *Education of the Negro*, 128-130, says that the free Negroes sometimes enjoyed more advantages in certain liberal Southern cities than in the North. New Orleans, Charleston, and Petersburg, Virginia, are cited as cities of this type.
5. Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, 398. There were, of course, notable exceptions to the general treatment of the Negro, particularly in regard to schools. Lafayette visited the African Free Schools in New York in 1824 and pronounced them the "best disciplined and most interesting schools of children" he had ever seen. See Woodson, *op. cit.*, 99-100, 140.
6. Adams, *op. cit.*, I, 384, points out that the South really had two problems, one of which was racial, the presence in its midst of the millions of the black race; the other was economic, the problem of determining whether a slave or wage system was the more conducive to profit by the plantation owners, assuming that they could recover the capital invested in slave property.
7. Brawley, *op. cit.*, 125-126. There was undoubtedly a good deal of genuine idealism in the colonization schemes, particularly on the part of men who freed their slaves and paid all their expenses. On the other hand, the states and many individuals were primarily concerned with getting rid of the free Negroes.
8. See Knight, 86-87; Siebert, 3; Woodson, *op. cit.*, 133-141; *History of the Negro Church*, 62 ff.
9. See Siebert, 43-62; Hart, *op. cit.*, 197, 253; Adams, *op. cit.*, I, 347, 400-404. "Both whites and blacks were urged by Parker, Phillips, Garrison and others to kill without compunction anyone attempting to capture a runaway slave." See Adams, *op. cit.*, I, 404-411. John Brown was called "a new saint" who had "made the gallows glorious like the cross."
10. Priest, vi-viii, 33-40, 102-103, 224-228. This book seems to have

been first published about 1850 and apparently was taken seriously, as it was reprinted in 1864 with endorsements from *The Richmond Enquirer* and other Southern newspapers and periodicals.

11. Adams, *op. cit.*, I, 346-347, quotes Garrison as saying, "The compact which exists between the North and South is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." He also says that Theodore Parker referred to the Southerners as "thriftless, idle, drunken, lewd, shrill-voiced, . . . feeble-bodied and evil to look upon," and the more radical Southerner returned defiance for defiance and gave hate for hate.

CHAPTER SIX: BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

Accurate and unbiased accounts of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods are practically nonexistent. The documents of the period give little help, as they were all written under the influence of a highly charged emotional situation. Perhaps the best general accounts are to be found in Adams, **The March of Democracy*, II, and Beard, **The Rise of American Civilization*, II. Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution;* Dunning, *Reconstruction Political and Economic, 1865-1877;* Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, V; and Fleming, *The Sequel to Appomattox*, are general accounts. There are also books dealing with Reconstruction in each state but they add little of value to the general reader's information. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, should be balanced by Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction.* Parrington, **The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America;* Skaggs, **The Southern Oligarchy;* and Lewinson, **Race, Class and Party*, may be found useful. Andrews, *The South Since the War*, and Herbert *et al.*, *Why the Solid South?*, give descriptions of the South following the war.

1. Beard, II, 64-65. See also Rhodes, III, 313-314, and V, 50.
2. Quoted in Adams, *The March of Democracy*, II, 48-49.
3. Quoted in Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 56.
4. See Hart, *Social and Economic Forces*, 426.
5. Du Bois, *op. cit.*, 57-61; Smedes, 156.
6. Embree, 190; Du Bois, *op. cit.*, 93-112.
7. Dunning, 10. See also Adams, *America's Tragedy*, 326, and *The March of Democracy*, II, 99; Hart, *op. cit.*, 416.
8. For these accounts see Mumford, 10; Adams, *op. cit.*, II, 96; Fleming, 280; Du Bois, *op. cit.*, 77-79.
9. Dunning, 45. See also Du Bois, *op. cit.*, 129.

10. Parrington, vi; Mumford, 12; Adams, *op. cit.*, II, 68; Rhodes, V, 212-220; Dunning, 209.
11. Burgess, 147; Adams, *op. cit.*, 123-124; Lewinson, 40-41.
12. Parrington, 30; Mumford, 6; Burgess, 262; Lewinson, 17; Beard, II, 304. Boss Tweed of New York was accused of stealing more than six million dollars. Chairs for a courthouse bought under his régime were charged at $470 each.
13. Embree, 182. See also Knight, 358; and Dunning, 113. Bowers, 217-218, calls most of the constitutions "monstrosities" but says the Negroes showed more judgment than the white demagogues.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE STRUGGLE UPWARD

The adjustment which the newly freed Negroes made in the new life is revealed in such books as Washington, **Up from Slavery*, and Du Bois, **The Souls of Black Folk*. Much of the latter part of the nineteenth century meant to the Negro his first opportunity for an education. Something of the problems involved and the heroic sacrifices made by black and white is revealed in such books as Mayo, *Southern Women in the Recent Educational Movement in the South*, and Knight, *Public Education in the South*. Lewinson, **Race, Class and Party*, deals with the political situation, and the first eight volumes of the *Atlanta University Publications*, edited under the direction of W. E. B. Du Bois, give a survey of the economic, social and religious situation as it affected Negroes.

1. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 122. See also Fleming, 36; Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, 117-118.
2. Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 26; Du Bois, *op. cit.*, 351.
3. Mayo, 31, 73, 102; Washington, *op. cit.*, 46, 128; Du Bois, *op. cit.*, 465; *The Souls of Black Folk*, 25; Woodson, *The Negro Church*, 217.
4. Mayo, 127, 210; Knight, 366, 369; Woodson, *op. cit.*, 210-215.
5. Mayo, 75; Washington, *op. cit.*, 120.
6. Embree, 120.
7. Washington, *op. cit.*, 217-237; Du Bois, *op. cit.*, 42, 43, 49.
8. For a survey of this period see the *Atlanta University Publications*, Nos. 1-8; Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*.
9. *Atlanta University Publications, No. 3*, 36-40; Washington, *op. cit.*, 316.
10. See Johnson, *Along This Way*, 8-19; *Black Manhattan*, 116.

CHAPTER EIGHT: FACING THE COLOR LINE

The material in this chapter has been drawn in part from the Negro's own reaction to the color line at various periods. For the earlier period (1900-1915) the Negro's reaction may be seen in Washington, **Up from Slavery*, and in the same author's more comprehensive work, *The Story of the Negro*. Du Bois, **The Souls of Black Folk*, gives another side of the story. Kelly Miller, *Race Adjustment;* Moton, *Finding a Way Out;* and James Weldon Johnson, **Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, *Black Manhattan*, and **Along This Way*, are further expressions of merit. An interesting contrast is found in the books by Washington and Du Bois. A wealth of material may be found in the *Atlanta University Publications*, edited by Du Bois.

Further light on the "white man's burden" and the imperialism of the day may be found in Beard, **The Rise of American Civilization;* Adams, **The March of Democracy;* and Sullivan, **Our Times*, Vol. I. Rudyard Kipling's poems written at this period are revealing.

Baker, *Following the Color Line*, gives an outsider's view of the South at this period. Lewinson, **Race, Class and Party*, throws light on the political situation. The widely divergent white viewpoints are expressed in Bailey, *Race Orthodoxy in the South;* Murphy, *The Basis of Ascendancy* and *Problems of the Present South;* and Page, *The Negro: The Southerner's Problem.*

For the period of the World War and its aftermath, illuminating material may be found in the books of James Weldon Johnson mentioned above; in Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration;* Charles Johnson, **The Negro in American Civilization;* Moton, **What the Negro Thinks;* Brawley, **Social History of the American Negro* and *Your Negro Neighbor;* Weatherford and Johnson, **Race Relations;* Detweiler, *The Negro Press in the United States;* Embree, **Brown America;* Peffer, **The White Man's Dilemma;* and Klineberg, *Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration.* The Chicago Commission on Race Relations gives an exhaustive study of migration and the race riots in *The Negro in Chicago.* The files of *The Crisis* are revealing.

The nature of the color line and the question of race prejudice, conflict, and adjustment have been discussed illuminatingly by Dr. Robert E. Park in numerous sociological journals. Reprints and summaries of some of this material will be found in Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology.* Other such material is found in Reuter, *The American Race Problem,* and *Race and Culture Contacts* (ed.). Sumner, *Folkways,* has been drawn upon, and the author is indebted to Doyle, *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the*

South, and Daniel, *Bi-Racial Organization,* both unpublished theses from the University of Chicago.

Most of the previously mentioned books, except those of the 1900-1915 period, deal to some extent with the present situation. To them should be added **The Negro Year Book, 1931-1932;* Herskovits, **The American Negro;* Alain Locke (ed.), **The New Negro;* and Young, **American Minority Peoples.*

1. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk,* 13.
2. Sullivan, I, 6-7, 47-50, 510.
3. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration,* 172-175; Johnson, *The Negro in American Civilization,* 16-28; Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago,* 75-105.
4. Johnson, *Black Manhattan,* 235-245.
5. From McKay, "If We Must Die," in *Harlem Shadows.* By permission of Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York.
6. Johnson, *Black Manhattan,* 251-259.
7. Even in the latter part of the Reconstruction period a Northern schoolman who spent twelve years in the South wrote of his astonishment at finding Saturday crowds of blacks and whites jostling each other good-naturedly on the streets of a small town. See Mayo, 149. Baker makes similar comments for 1905-07.
8. Doyle. The absence of conflict does not necessarily mean that the bottom group is satisfied; the color line merely lessens the number of possibilities of bumping into each other, so to speak.
9. The immediate occasion for the Chicago riot of 1919 was a bathing beach incident. See *The Negro in Chicago,* 4.
10. Discussion of the taboos on using titles and eating together is found in Moton, 191, 247; Washington, *Up from Slavery,* 220, 289; Baker, 64; Doyle, 219. See also Alain Locke (ed.), 362.
11. The statement quoted in substance was made in a personal conversation with the author. On this point see M. J. Herskovits, 31-37; Doyle, 229; Kelly Miller, 47; and Baker.
12. From Cullen, "Incident," in *Color,* 15. By permission of Harper & Bros. See also Cuthbert; and Du Bois, *Darkwater,* 5-15.
13. R. B. Eleazer gives an excellent summary of the treatment of the Negro in schoolbooks in his pamphlet "School Books and Racial Antagonism."

CHAPTER NINE: THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN

The most comprehensive treatment of the subjects discussed in this chapter will be found in Johnson, **The Negro in American Civili-*

zation, and the more recent volume by Weatherford and Johnson, **Race Relations.* Other general works are Reuter, *The American Race Problem;* Moton, **What the Negro Thinks;* Embree, **Brown America;* and Work (ed.), *The Negro Year Book, 1931-1932.* Especially useful is Young, **American Minority Peoples.*

Extensive treatment of the mulatto is found in Reuter, *Race Mixture* and *The Mulatto in the United States,* but these should be balanced by Herskovits, *The American Negro,* and Klineberg, *Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration.*

Three illuminating volumes on lynching are Raper, **The Tragedy of Lynching;* White, **Rope and Faggot;* and Chadburn, *Lynching and the Law.* Briefer treatment may be found in "Lynchings and What They Mean" and other pamphlets on the subject published by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

Most of the general books listed above have some treatment of the subject of crime, delinquency and family disorganization. To these should be added the report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago;* Woofter, *Negro Problems in Cities;* and two excellent studies of rural and urban family life: Johnson, **Shadow of the Plantation,* and Frazier, **The Negro Family in Chicago.*

Material on the education of the Negro may be found in the publications of the Office of Education of the United States Department of the Interior: Caliver, "Education of Negro Teachers" and "Secondary Education for Negroes." The Rosenwald Fund publishes the pamphlets "The South's Negro Teaching Force," "Every Tenth Pupil," and *"School Money in Black and White." See also McCuistion, "Financing Schools in the South." A general discussion of the Southern situation is found in Vance, **Human Geography of the South.*

The problem of the Negro worker is treated in Johnson, *The Economic Status of Negroes;* Wesley, *Negro Labor in the United States;* Spero and Harris, *The Black Worker.* For the conditions of the farmer see the bulletins "Cotton Growing Communities, Studies No. 1-2," published by the Federal Council of Churches.

For problems of health and housing see Bowen, **Divine White Right;* also *Recent Social Trends in the United States,* Vols. I-II.

1. United States Census Report, 1930.
2. Herskovits, *The American Negro.*
3. Klineberg offers the most satisfactory study of intelligence tests as they relate to the Negro.
4. All these activities have actually been carried out by mobs in recent years. For a detailed report of one year's lynching toll—

1930—see Raper, who reports that the 1930 mobs included about 75,000 persons, men, women and children. See also White, 19-30, and the *Negro Year Book, 1931-1932,* 293-299.

5. *The Negro in Chicago,* 327-356; Johnson, *The Negro in American Civilization,* 311-329.
6. Woofter, *Negro Problems in Cities,* 228-230; Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation;* Frazier.
7. See Vance; also the pamphlets "School Money in Black and White" and "Every Tenth Pupil."
8. See Embree, 89-111; *Negro Year Book, 1931-1932,* 211-213; Johnson, *A Preface to Racial Understanding,* 68-69, 73-74, 76, 79-81; "Twenty Years of the Phelps-Stokes Fund," 44-54; Rosenwald Fund Report on School House Construction, 1933.
9. Park and Burgess, 627.
10. "Cotton Growing Communities, No. 2," 12-30.
11. Spero and Harris, 180-181, 461-469. An excellent discussion of this whole problem will be found in Young, *American Minority Peoples,* 125 ff.
12. Bowen, 199.

CHAPTER TEN: BROWN AMERICA

The sources for this chapter lie all about one, for "Brown America" is a living and by no means static group. A great deal of specific information may be found in the *Negro Year Book, 1931-1932.* Calverton, *Anthology of American Negro Literature,* gives a sample of many different types of writing by Negroes. Alain Locke (ed.), *The New Negro,* throws much light on the thoughts and feelings of the modern Negro group. Countee Cullen (ed.), *Caroling Dusk: An Anthology of Verse by Negro Poets,* gives sample material from Negro poets with brief biographical sketches of the authors. James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan,* gives the background of many of the Negro leaders of today, and his autobiography, *Along This Way,* is both revealing and fascinating reading. His *Negro Americans, What Now?* is a brief summary of proposed solutions for racial problems. Weatherford and Johnson, *Race Relations,* offers recent material on the general situation, and Detweiler, *The Negro Press,* will throw light on one little-known institution. Current Negro newspapers and the files of *The Crisis* and *Opportunity* furnish the most up-to-date index of the Negro's thought and life. Young, *American Minority Peoples,* and Shrieke, *Alien Americans,* will be of interest.

The two volumes of Negro spirituals by James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamond Johnson and *The Negro and His Songs* by Odum and Johnson will introduce one to Negro music.

1. Weatherford and Johnson, 454; *The Negro Year Book, 1931-1932,* 118; Bowen, 71.
2. Detweiler, 1-5, 63, 164.
3. See Jung, "Your Negroid and Indian Characteristics," in *The Forum,* March, 1936; Herskovits, "What Has Africa Given America?" in *The New Republic,* September 4, 1935.
4. The author's brief experience in crossing central Africa bears out these conclusions drawn in part from various sources. See Hornbostel for a discussion of the African Negro's musical gifts.
5. From Corrothers, "At the Closed Gate of Justice," quoted in Calverton's *Anthology of American Negro Literature,* 179.
6. From Johnson, "To America," in *Fifty Years and Other Poems.* By permission of Cornhill Publishing Co., Boston.
7. Hughes, "A New Song," in *The Crisis,* March, 1933. By permission.
8. From Johnson, *God's Trombones,* 17. By permission of the Viking Press, New York.
9. From Cullen, *Color,* 50. By permission of Harper & Bros., New York.
10. From Johnson, *St. Peter Relates an Incident,* 13-22. By permission of the Viking Press, New York.
11. See Moton; also *The Negro Year Book, 1931-1932.*
12. Johnson, *Negro Americans, What Now?*
13. Hughes, "Youth," in *Dream Keeper and Other Poems.* By permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York.

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1. Kern, 162-163.

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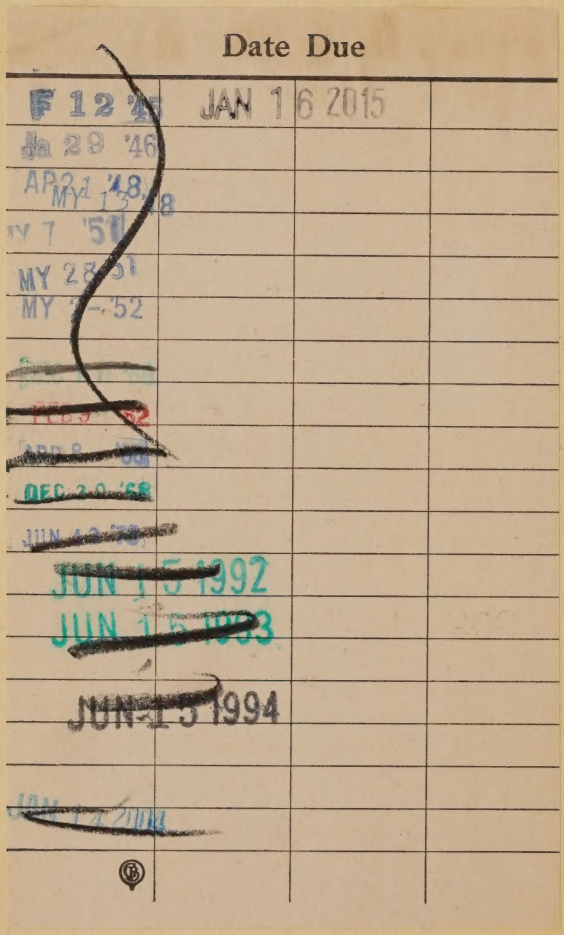
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